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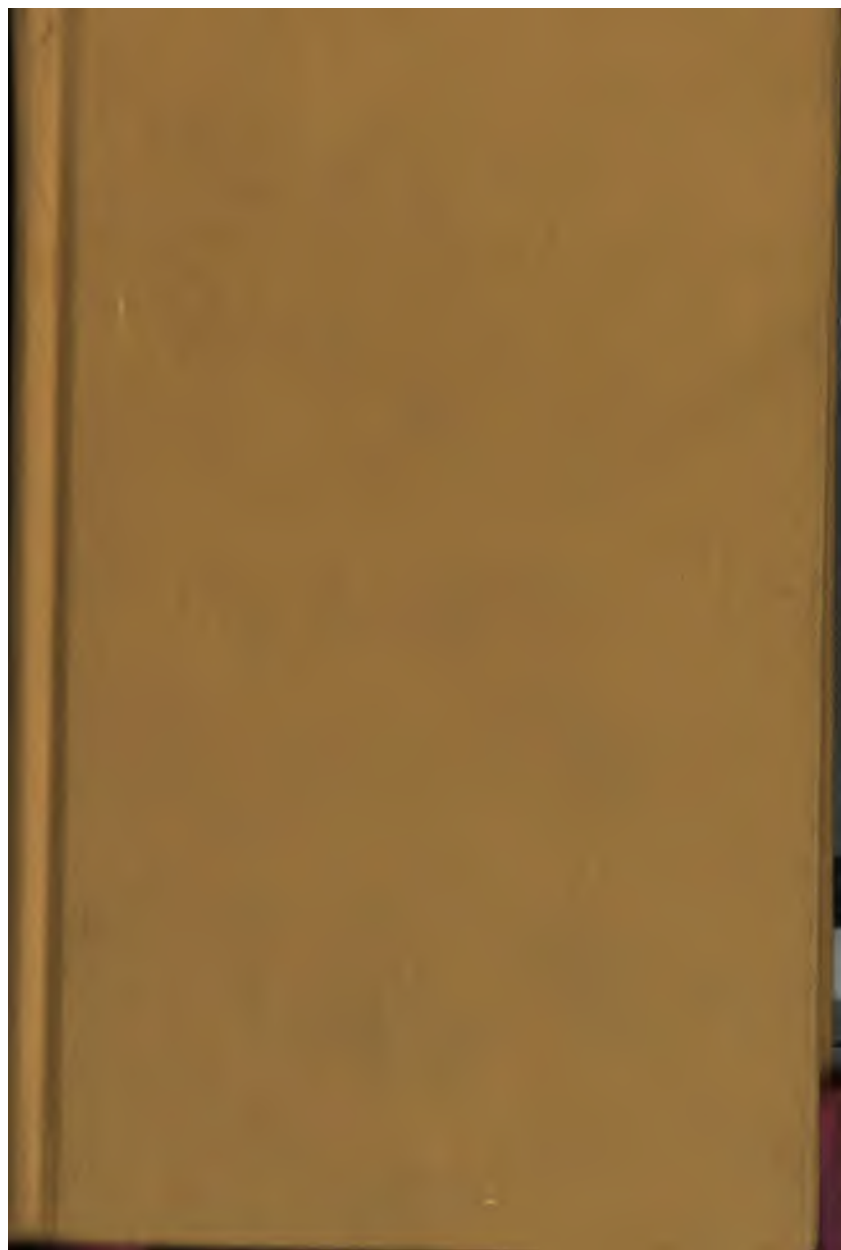
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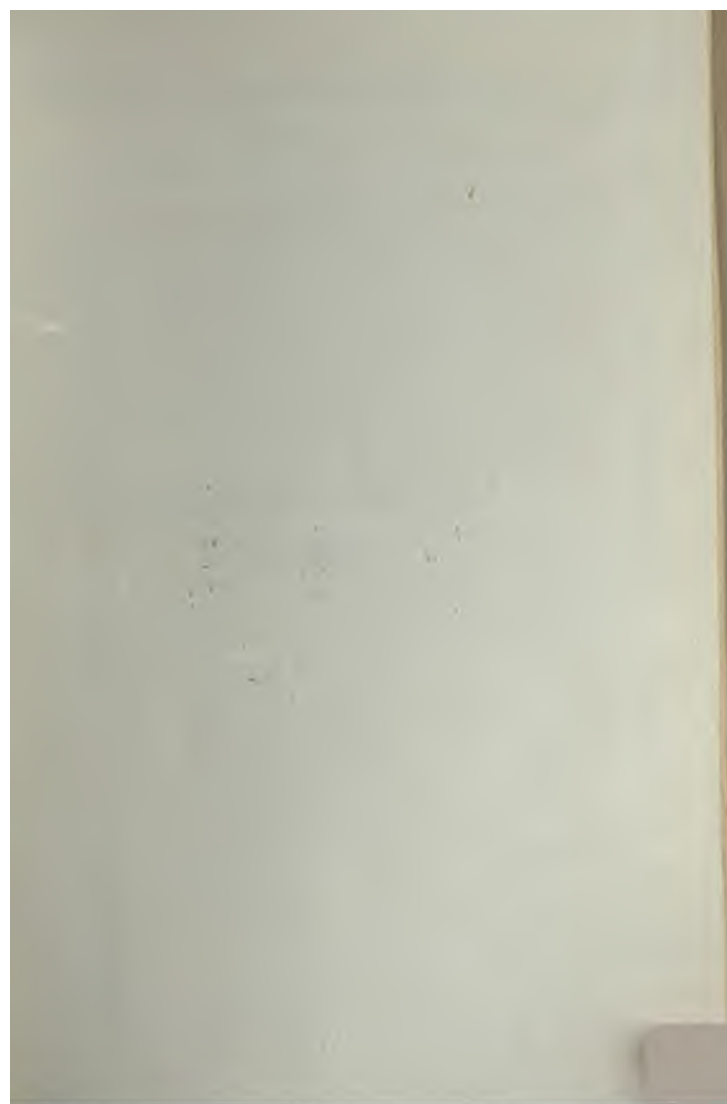
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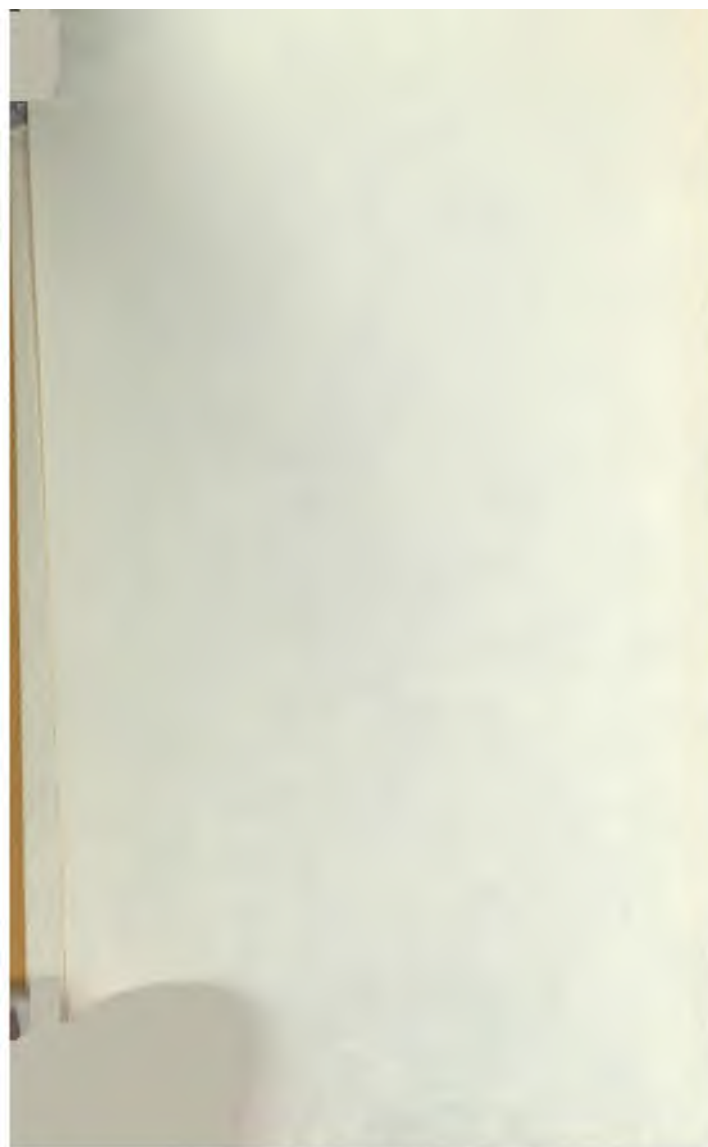
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THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE

AUGUSTAE

THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
DAVID MAGIE, PH.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

I



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PREFACE

IN the preparation of this book others have laboured and I have entered into the fruits of their labours. Their co-operation has been of inestimable service.

The translation of the biographies from Antoninus Pius to Pescennius Niger and from the Maximini to Maximus and Balbinus inclusive has been furnished by my friend Mr. Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore. In the translation of the other lives also his fine taste and literary discrimination have been responsible for many a happy phrase. But for the promise of his collaboration the task of preparing this edition had not been undertaken.

The Latin text of the first six biographies has been supplied by Miss Susan H. Ballou of Bryn Mawr College, who had in mind the preparation of a new text of these biographies, based on her study of the manuscripts. Unfortunately, however, other interests have claimed her time and her efforts and she has been unable to complete the work for this edition. It is to be earnestly hoped that she will yet publish a critical text of the entire series.

In the lack of Miss Ballou's text I have been forced to base this edition, from the *Commodus*

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onward, on the text of Hermann Peter, for the long-promised edition by Dr. Ernst Hohl has not yet appeared. Its aid would have been invaluable. While only too well aware of the inadequacies of Peter's text, I have not felt able to introduce many changes. The suggestions offered by various scholars since the appearance of Peter's second edition have been carefully considered, and a few have been adopted. The text, therefore, is that of the Codex Palatinus (P), with the introduction of a few emendations and whatever changes in punctuation and spelling might seem in accordance with modern usage. All the more important variations from P, as well as the most significant of the variant readings afforded by the later correctors of the manuscript, and, in addition, the divergencies from the text of Peter have been entered in the critical notes.

In the Introduction I have sought to give a brief account of the *Historia Augusta*, the authors, their method and style, and a summary of the study expended on it from the close of the classical period to the present and its use by later historians. A discussion of its authorship and sources and of the theories which have found in it a work of the late fourth or early fifth century has, for reasons of space, been reserved for the second volume.

The somewhat voluminous commentary has seemed necessary on account of the obscurity of the narrative and the abundance of technical terms. In the preparation of it I have tried to keep in mind not only the needs of the general reader but also those of the student of Roman History, and it is for the benefit of the latter that some of the more technical material has been included.

PREFACE

A list of the books and articles to which I am indebted would fill many pages. The greatest amount of aid has been furnished by Lessing's *Lexicon*, Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, and the admirable articles on the various Emperors that have appeared in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll. In the commentary to the biography of Hadrian valuable assistance has been rendered by Wilhelm Weber's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*. A complete bibliography will be included in the second volume.

Of the work as a whole, perhaps it can be said :
"Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala plura,
quae legis hic".

DAVID MAGIE.

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY,
15th June, 1921.

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INTRODUCTION

I

THE SCOPE AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

AMONG the remnants of Roman literature preserved by the whims of fortune is a collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Carinus—the *Vitae Diversorum Principum et Tyrannorum a Divo Hadriano usque ad Numerianum Diversis compositae*, as it is entitled in the principal manuscript, the *Codex Palatinus* of the Vatican Library. It is popularly known, apparently for convenience' sake, as the *Historia Augusta*, a name applied to it by Casaubon, whereas the original title was probably *de Vita Caesarum* or *Vitae Caesarum*.¹ The collection, as extant, comprises thirty biographies, most of which contain the life of a single emperor, while some include a group of two or more, classed together merely because these emperors were either akin or contemporary. Not only the emperors who actually reigned, the "Augusti," but also the heirs

¹ See Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii. (1878), p. 301 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vii. p. 301.

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presumptive, the "Caesares," and the various claimants to the empire, the "Tyranni," are included in the series.

According to the tradition of the manuscripts the biographies are the work of six different authors; some of them are addressed to the Emperor Diocletian, others to Constantine, and others to important personages in Rome. The biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Gordian are attributed to four various authors, apparently on no principle whatsoever, for not only are the lives of successive, or even contemporary, princes ascribed to different authors and those of emperors widely separated in time to the same writer, but in the case of two of the authors some lives are dedicated to Diocletian and some to Constantine.

In the traditional arrangement the biographies are assigned to the various authors as follows:

I. Aelius Spartianus: the *vitae* of Hadrian, Aelius, Didius Julianus, Severus, Pescennius Niger, Caracalla, and Geta. Of these, the *Aelius*, *Julianus*, *Severus*, and *Niger* are addressed to Diocletian, the *Geta* to Constantine. The preface of the *Aelius*¹ contains mention of the Caesars Galerius Maximianus and Constantius Chlorus, and from this it may be inferred that the *vitae* of the Diocletian group were written between 293, the year of the nomination of these Caesars, and 305, the year of Diocletian's retirement. In the same preface² Spartianus announces that it is his purpose to write the biographies, not only of the emperors who preceded Hadrian, but also of all the princes who followed, including the Caesars and the pretenders.

¹ *Ael.*, ii. 2.

² *Ael.*, i. 1.

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ilius Capitolinus: the *vitae* of Pius, Marcus, Verus, Pertinax, Clodius Albinus, Macrinus, Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and his sons. Of these, the *Marcus*, *Verus*, and *Macrinus* are addressed to Diocletian, while the *Albinus*, the *Gordiani*, and the *Gordiani* are addressed to Constantine, evidently after the fall of Licinius in 311. Like Spartianus, Capitolinus announces his intention of composing an extended series of imperial biographies.²

Vulcacius Gallicanus: the *vita* of Avidius Cassar, addressed to Diocletian. He too announces his ambitious programme³—the composition of biographies of all who have worn the imperial purple, including emperors and pretenders to the throne. Aelius Lampridius: the *vitae* of Commodus, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander. The last two are addressed to Constantine; according to the author, they were composed at the emperor's own request,⁴ and they were written after the death of Licinius at Adrianople in 323.⁵ Lampridius claims to have written the biographies of at least one of the predecessors of Elagabalus and to follow the plan of composing biographies of the emperors who reigned subsequently, beginning with Augustus and including in his work not only Diocletian but Licinius and Maxentius, the rivals of Constantine.⁶

², xxxiv. 5; see H. Peter, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 35.

³, i. 1-3; *Gord.*, i. 1-5.

ass., iii. 3.

⁴, xxxv. 1.

⁵, vii. 7; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 32.

⁶, xxxv.; *Alex.*, lxiv. 1.

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V. Trebellius Pollio: the *vitae* from Philip to Claudius; of his work, however, the earlier part, containing the biographies from Philip to Valerian, has been lost from the collection,¹ and we have only the *vitae* of the Valeriani (in part), the Gallieni, the Tyranni Triginta, and Claudius. Pollio's biographies were dedicated, not to the emperor, but to a friend, apparently an official of high degree. His name has been lost, together with the preface which must have preceded the *vita* of Philip. The only clue to his identity is a passage in which he is addressed as a kinsman of an Herennius Celsus, a candidate for the consulship.² The extant biographies were written after Constantius' nomination as Caesar in 293,³ and, in the case of the *Tyranni Triginta*, after the commencement of the Baths of Diocletian in 298.⁴ The collection was finished, according to his successor and continuer Vopiscus, in 303.⁵

VI. Flavius Vopiscus: the *vitae* of Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, Firmus and his three fellow-tyrants, and Carus and his sons. These biographies, like those of Pollio, are not dedicated to any emperor, but to various friends of the author. Vopiscus wrote, he declares in his elaborate preface,⁶ at the express request of his friend Junius Tiberianus, the city-prefect. Tiberianus was city-prefect for the second time in 303-4,⁷ and, even granting that his conversation with the author as well as his promise of

¹ These biographies were included in the collection by Pollio; see *Aur.*, ii. 1.

² *Tyr. Trig.*, xxii. 12.

³ *Gall.*, vii. 1 and elsewhere.

⁴ *Tyr. Trig.*, xxi. 7; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 36 f.

⁵ *Aur.*, ii. 1.

⁶ *Aur.*, i.-ii.

⁷ B. Borghesi, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1862-97), ix. p. 392.

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the documents from Trajan's library are merely rhetorical ornaments,¹ this date is usually regarded as marking the beginning of Vopiscus' work. It is confirmed by an allusion to Constantius as *imperator*² (305-306) and to Diocletian as *iam privatus* (after 305).³ This collection was completed, according to internal evidence, before the death of Diocletian in 316,⁴ perhaps even before that of Galerius in 311.⁵ The series written by Vopiscus has been preserved in its entirety, for it was his intention to conclude his work with the lives of Carus and his sons, leaving to others the task of writing the biographies of Diocletian and his associates.⁶

The plan to include in the collection not only "Augusti," but also "Caesares" and "Tyranni," has resulted in a double series of biographies in that section of the *Historia Augusta* which includes the emperors between Hadrian and Alexander. To the life of a regnant emperor is attached that of an heir-presumptive, a colleague, or a rival. In each case the minor *vita* stands in a close relationship to the major, and, in many instances, passages seem to have been transcribed bodily from the biography of the "Augustus" to that of the "Caesar" or "Tyrannus".

In the composition of these biographies the model used by the authors, according to the testimony of two of them,⁷ was Suetonius. The *Lives* of Suetonius are not biographies in the modern sense of the word, but merely collections of material arranged according

¹ Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 39.

² *Aur.*, xliv. 5.

³ *Aur.*, xliii. 2.

⁴ *Car.*, xviii. 5; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 45 f.

⁵ *Car.*, ix. 3.

⁶ *Prob.*, i. 5; *Bonos.*, xv. 10.

⁷ *Max.*—*Balb.*, iv. 5; *Prob.*, ii. 7; *Firm.*, i. 2.

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to certain definite categories,¹ and this method of composition is, in fact, employed also by the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. An analysis of the *Pius*, the most simply constructed of the series, shows the general scheme most clearly.² This *vita* falls naturally into the following divisions: ancestry (i. 1-7); life previous to his accession to the throne (i. 8—v. 2); policy and events of his reign (v. 3—vii. 4); personal traits (vii. 5—xii. 3); death (xii. 4-9); personal appearance (xiii. 1-2); honours after death (xiii. 3-4).

A fundamental scheme similar to this, in which the several sections are more or less clearly marked, serves as the basis for all the biographies. The series of categories is compressed or extended according to the importance of the events to be narrated or the material that was available, and at times the principle of composition is obscured by the elaboration of a particular topic to an altogether disproportionate length. Thus the mention of the peculiar cults to which Commodus was addicted (the category *religiones*) leads to a long and detailed list of acts of cruelty,³ while nearly one half of the life of Elagabalus is devoted to an enumeration of instances of his luxury and extravagance,⁴ and in the biography of Severus Alexander the fundamental scheme is almost unrecognizable as a result of the confused combination of various narratives.⁵

¹ *Proposita vitae eius velut summa partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar*; Suetonius, *Aug.*, ix.

² Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 106 f.; F. Leo, *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie* (Leipzig, 1901), p. 273 f.

³ *Com.*, ix. 6—xi. 7.

⁴ *Heliog.*, xviii. 4—xxxiii. 1.

⁵ Leo, p. 280 f.

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It was also characteristic of Suetonius that he amplified his biographies by means of gossip, anecdotes, and documents, but nowhere in his *Lives* are these used as freely as in certain of the *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta*. The authors take a peculiar delight in the introduction of material dealing with the personality of their subjects. Not content with including special divisions on personal characteristics, in which are enumerated the individual qualities of an emperor,¹ they devote long sections to elaborate details of their private lives, particularly before their elevation to the throne. For this more intimate detail there was much less material available than for the narration of public events. The careers of short-lived emperors and pretenders afforded little of public interest, and consequently their biographies were padded with trivial anecdotes. In fact, a comparison between a major *vita* and its corresponding minor biography shows that the latter contains little historical material that is not in the former. The rest is made up of amplifications, anecdotes, speeches, letters and verses, and at best these minor *vitae* represent little more than a working over of the material contained in the major biographies with the aid of rhetorical expedients and literary embellishments.

The model for the emphasizing of the private life of an emperor seems to have been not so much Suetonius as Marius Maximus, the author of a series of imperial biographies from Nerva to Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. Not content with the narration

¹ e.g. in the *Pius*, *liberalitas et clementia* (viii. 5—ix. 5); *auctoritas* (ix. 6-10); *pietas* (x. 1-5); *liberalitas* (x. 6-9); *civilitas* (xi.); see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 157.

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of facts in the manner of Suetonius, Maximus sought to add interest to his biographies by the introduction of personal material. His lives are cited by the authors of the earlier *vitae* of the *Historia Augusta* as their sources for gossip, scandal, and personal minutiae,¹ and he is probably justly referred to as *homo omnium verbosissimus qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*.² In gossip and search after detail, however, Maximus seems to have been outdone by Aelius Junius Cordus, cited in the *vitae* of Albinus, Maximinus, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus. He made it a principle to describe the emperor's appearances in public, and his food and clothing,³ and the citations from him include the enumeration of the amounts of fruit, birds and oysters consumed by Albinus.⁴ Readers who desire further information on trivial or indecent details are scornfully referred to his biographies.⁵

The manner of Marius Maximus and Cordus is most clearly reproduced in the lives attributed to Vopiscus. The more pretentious biographies of Aurelianus and Probus especially⁶ contain a wealth of personal detail which quite obscures the scant historical material. After an elaborate preface of a highly rhetorical nature, there follows a description of the character of the emperor in which the emphasis is laid on his noble deeds and his virtues. These are illustrated by anecdotes and attested by "documents," much to the detriment of the narration

¹ *Had.*, ii. 10; xxv. 3; *Ael.*, v. 4; *Avid. Cass.*, ix. 9; *Heliog.*, xi. 6.

² *Firm.*, i. 2.

³ *Macr.*, i. 4.

⁴ *Cl. Alb.*, xi. 2-3.

⁵ *Cl. Alb.*, v. 10; *Max.*, xxix. 10; *Gord.*, xxi. 3.

⁶ *Leo*, p. 291 f.

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of facts. No rhetorical device is neglected and the whole gives the impression of an eulogy rather than a biography.

The method employed by Marius Maximus and Cordus was, however, productive of a still more detrimental element in the *Historia Augusta*—the alleged documents which are inserted in many of the *vitae*. Suetonius, as secretary to Hadrian, had had access to the imperial archives and thus obtained various letters and other documents which he inserted in his biographies for the illustration or confirmation of some statement. His practice was continued by his successors in the field of biographical literature. Thus Marius Maximus inserted documents, both speeches and letters, in the body of his text and even added them in appendices.¹ Some of these may have been authentic; but since the references to them in the *Historia Augusta* indicate that they were very numerous, and since there is no reason to suppose that Maximus had access to the official archives, considerable doubt must arise as to their genuineness. Cordus, too, inserted in his biographies letters alleged to have been written by emperors² and speeches and acclamations uttered in the senate-house,³ but, to judge from the specimens preserved in the *Historia Augusta*, these "documents" deserve even less credence than those of Maximus.

The precedent thus established was followed by some of the authors of the *Historia Augusta*. The collection contains in all about 150 alleged documents, including 68 letters, 60 speeches and proposals

¹ *Marc.*, xxv. 8; *Com.*, xviii. 1; *Pert.*, ii. 8; xv. 8; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 108 f.

² *Cl. Alb.*, vii. 2-6; *Max.*, xii. 5.

³ *Gord.*, xi.

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to the people or the senate, and 20 senatorial decrees and acclamations.¹ The distribution of these, however, is by no means uniform. Of the major *vitae* from Hadrian to Elagabalus inclusive, only the *Commodus* and the *Macrinus* are provided with "documents," and these have but two apiece.² On the other hand, the group of *vitae* of the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Balbinus contains in all 26 such pieces, and Pollio's *Valeriani*, *Tyranni Triginta* and *Claudius*³ have together 27. It is, however, Vopiscus who heads the list, for his five biographies contain no less than 59 so-called documents of various kinds.

In a discussion of the genuineness of these documents a distinction must be drawn between the speeches, on the one hand, and the letters and senatorial decrees and acclamations on the other. Since the time of Thucydides it had been customary for an historian to insert speeches in his history, and it was an established convention that they might be more or less fictitious. Accordingly, none would question the right of the biographer to attribute to the subject of his biography any speech that he might wish to insert in his narrative. With the letters and decrees, however, the case is different. Like those cited by Suetonius, these claim to be actual documents and it is from this claim that the question of their authenticity must proceed. In spite of occasional expressions of scepticism, the genuineness of these documents was not seriously questioned until 1870, when C. Czwalina published an examination of the letters contained in

¹ C. Lécrivain, *Études sur l'Histoire Auguste* (Paris, 1904), p. 45 f.

² *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; xx.; *Macr.*, ii. 4-5; vi. 2-9.

³ There are none in the *Gallienus*.

INTRODUCTION

the *vita* of Avidius Cassius.¹ He showed that various letters, professedly written by different persons, show the same style and tricks of expression, that they were all written with the purpose of praising the clemency and generosity of Marcus, and that they contain several historical errors. He thus reached the conclusion that they were forgeries, but not composed by the author of the *vita* since his comments on them are inconsistent with their content.²

A similar examination of the letters and documents in the other biographies, particularly in those attributed to Pollio and Vopiscus, reveals the hand of the forger even more plainly.³ They abound not only in errors of fact that would be impossible in genuine documents, but also in the rhetorical bombast and the stylistic peculiarities that are characteristic of the authors of these series. The documents cited by Pollio, moreover, show the same aim and purpose as his text—the glorification of Claudius Gothicus as the reputed ancestor of Constantius Chlorus and the vilification of his predecessor Gallienus,—while the documents of Vopiscus show the same tendency to sentimentalize over the past glories of Rome and over the greatness of the senate that is characteristic of his own work, and, like those cited by Pollio, they too have a purpose—the praise of Vopiscus' hero Probus.

An entirely different type of spurious material is represented by the frequent interpolations in the text. These consist of later additions, of passages

¹ *De Epistolarum Actorumque quae a Scriptoribus H. A. proferuntur Fide atque Auctoritate*. Pars I. (Bonn, 1870); see also E. Klebs, *Rhein. Mus.*, xliii. (1888), p. 328 f.

² e.g. ix. 10 and xiv. 8; see Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 197 f.

³ Peter, *Scriptores*, p. 156 f.

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introduced by editors of the whole series, and of notes added by commentators, presumably on the margins, and subsequently incorporated in the body of the work.¹ Frequently they are inserted with utter disregard to the context, so that the continuity of a passage is completely interrupted. They vary in size from passages of several pages to brief notes of a few lines. The most extensive is a long passage in the *vita* of Marcus, which is inserted between the two main portions of the biography.² It consists of an epitome of the events of the latter part of his reign, enumerated again and at greater length in the second main portion of the *vita*. That this epitome is an interpolation is evident not only from the double narrative of certain events, but also from the fact that it agrees closely with the narrative of Marcus' reign which is found in Eutropius.³

An extensive interpolation has been made also in the *Vita Severi*. Here, however, the problem is less simple. The detailed narrative of the earlier part of Severus' reign⁴ is followed by a brief summary of the events of the whole period of his rule,⁵ closing with a long address to Diocletian.⁶ This summary is little more than a duplicate of the account of Severus' reign as given by Aurelius Victor in his *Caesares*.⁷

¹ Peter has attempted in his second edition of the text to distinguish the various types by different kinds of parentheses; see his *Praefatio*, p. xxxiv.

² c. xv. 3.—xix. 12.

³ *Breviarium*, viii. 11-14. Eutropius' material is generally supposed to have been taken from an extensive history of the empire, now lost, which is usually termed the "Imperial Chronicle" (*Kaiserchronik*); see A. Enmann, *Eine Verlorene Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser*, *Philologus*, Suppl. Band iv. (1884), pp. 397-501.

⁴ c. i.—xvii. 4.

⁵ c. xx.—xxi.

⁶ c. xvii. 5—xix.

⁷ *Caes.*, xx. 1-3.

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and either it has been taken directly from Victor or it is a parallel excerpt from his source, the "Imperial Chronicle". It, in turn, is followed by a section containing the narration of single incidents, frequently repetitions of what has preceded, forming a loosely composed and ill connected appendix to the whole.¹

Similar additions are to be found in the *vita* of Caracalla;² they contain repetitions and elaborations of previously narrated incidents and are evidently not the work of the writer of the bulk of the life. Besides these longer and more obvious interpolations there are countless others of varying extent, consisting of entries of new material and corrections and comments of later writers. Many of these have been inserted in the most inappropriate places, to the great detriment of the narrative, and the excision of these passages would contribute greatly to the intelligibility of many a *vita*.

The literary, as well as the historical, value of the *Historia Augusta* has suffered greatly as a result of the method of its composition. In the arrangement in categories of the historical material, the authors did but follow the accepted principles of the art of biography as practised in antiquity, but their narratives, consisting often of mere excerpts arranged without regard to connexion or transition, lack grace and even cohesion. The over-emphasis of personal details and the introduction of anecdotal material destroy the proportion of many sections, and the insertion of forged documents interrupts the course of the narrative, without adding anything of historical value or even of general interest. Finally, the

¹ c. xxii.-xxiv.

² c. vij.-viii.; x. 1—xi. 4.

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later addition of lengthy passages and brief notes, frequently in paragraphs with the general content of which they have no connexion, has put the crowning touch to the awkwardness and incoherence of the whole, with the result that the oft-repeated charge seems almost justified, that these biographies are little more than literary monstrosities.

II

THE TRADITION

OF THE

HISTORIA AUGUSTA

In spite of its defects in style, its deliberate falsifications, and the trivial character of much of its content, the *Historia Augusta* has always been a subject for scholarly research and an important source for the history of the second and third centuries. At the beginning of the sixth century it was used by Aurelius Memmius Symmachus,¹ the last member of a famous family, in his *Historia Romana*, the sole extant fragment of which² cites at considerable length the *vita* of the Maximini. Later, several selections from it were included in the elaborate *Collectaneum*,³ or col-

¹ Consul in 485.

² Preserved in Jordanes, *de Rebus Geticis*, xv. 83.

³ Preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century in the library of the Hospital of St. Nicholas at Cues, near Trier, to which it was bequeathed by the famous collector of manuscripts, Nicholas of Cues (Nicolaus Cusanus), on his death in 1464; see L. Traube, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.*, xix. 2 (1891), p. 364 f., and S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus*, in L. Traube, *Quellen u. Unters. z. lat. Philol. d. Mittelalters*, i. (1906).

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lection of excerpts, made at Liège about 850 by the Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, and citations from the *Marcus*, the *Maximini*, and the *Aurelian* are contained in Sedulius' *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, written about 855.

During the period in which Sedulius was compiling his *Collectaneum* there was copied at the monastery at Fulda our chief manuscript, the *Codex Palatinus*, now in the Vatican Library (No. 899). This manuscript, written in the ninth century in the Carolingian minuscule of that period,¹ represents a recension of the text which is somewhat different from that of the excerpts preserved in the *Collectaneum*.² As early, then, as the ninth century there were two editions of the *Historia Augusta*, depending, of course, on a common original, but exhibiting minor differences in the text.

Such was the interest in Germany in the *Historia Augusta* that not long after this Fulda manuscript was finished a copy of it was made, now preserved in the library at Bamberg, written in Anglo-Saxon characters and dating from the ninth or tenth century. About the same period, also, another manuscript was made either from the original of the Fulda manuscript or from this codex itself. This was contained in the library of the Abbey at Murbach in the eleventh century, in the catalogue of which it is listed as *Codex Spartiani*. It was the fate of this manuscript to be sent to Erasmus to be used in the preparation of the Froben edition of the *Historia Augusta*, published at

¹ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 397 f.

² Th. Mommsen, *Hermes*, xiii. (1878), p. 298 f. But for a modification of this view see S. H. Ballou, *The Manuscript Tradition of the Hist. Aug.* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 77 f.

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Basel in 1518.¹ The first half of the biographies, however, had been printed before its arrival, and accordingly it could be used for this portion only as a source for variant readings, while for the later *vitae*, from the *Diadumenus* onward, it served as the basis of the text. Unfortunately, however, it then disappeared, and as early as 1738 no trace of it could be found.

At some time between the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century the Fulda Codex was taken to Italy and was placed in the library of the Cathedral of Verona.² Here it was used by Giovanni de Matociis in the preparation of his *Historia Imperialis*, written at Verona at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the *de Originibus Rerum* of Guglielmo da Pastrengo of Verona.³ Moreover, excerpts from it were included in the so-called *Flores Moraliū Auctoritatum*, transcribed in 1329, and still preserved in the Cathedral library.

While in Verona the codex containing the *Historia Augusta* came to the notice of Petrarch, presumably through Pastrengo, his friend and correspondent. That it came into the actual possession of the great humanist and formed part of his library has been asserted⁴ and denied⁵ with equal vehemence. It is conceded by all, however, that he inscribed on its

¹ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 415.

² See R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici Latini e Greci ne' Secoli xiv. e xv.* (Florence, 1905), p. 2 f.; S. H. Ballou, p. 38 f.

³ Sabbadini, p. 15 f.

⁴ See P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, Nouv. Sér. (Paris, 1907), ii. p. 47 f.; S. H. Ballou, p. 13 f.

⁵ E. Hohl, *Hermes*, li. (1916), p. 154 f.

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margins many notes and comments, and that he had a copy of it made at Verona in 1356,¹ to which he later added many a comment and correction. The results of his study of the biographies, furthermore, appear in his works. Thus in his letter *de Militia Veterum*,² he cites the *Hadrian*, the *Pescennius*, the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Maximini*, and the *Probus*; and in the *de Re Publica bene administranda*³ he quotes from the *Hadrian*, the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Elagabalus*, the *Alexander*, and the *Aurelian*.

After the death of Petrarch, the Fulda Codex, it has been maintained, came into the possession of Coluccio Salutati,⁴ and many of the marginal corrections which it bears are said to be his. On the other hand, it has been asserted with equal vigour that Coluccio did not even see this manuscript.⁵ However this may be, the *Historia Augusta* was well known to Coluccio, and his letters written in the years 1381-93 cite the *vitae* of Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, and Alexander⁶; moreover, the fact that in one letter he names the six authors of the *Historia Augusta* in the order in which they are contained in the manuscript⁷ seems to indicate that he had a first-hand acquaintance with the text.

¹ *Codex Parisinus* 5816.

² *Epist. de Rebus Familiaribus*, xxii. 14 (written in 1360); see also *de Reb. Fam.*, xx. 4.

³ *Epist. Seniles*, xiv. 1 (1373); see also *Ep. Sen.*, ii. 1; xv. 3.

⁴ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxix. (1894), p. 410, n. 2; S. H. Ballou, p. 30 f.

⁵ Coluccio's use of this codex is denied by Hohl, *l.c.*, p. 158, and *Klio*, xv. (1918), p. 87 f.

⁶ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. by F. Novati (Rome, 1891-6), vol. ii., pp. 40 f., 55, 415.

⁷ *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. by F. Novati (Rome, 1891-6), vol. ii., p. 299.

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In the fifteenth century the famous codex passed into the hands of the merchant and theologian Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459). His possession is attested by the presence of his name on the first page,¹ and he too is supposed to have shown his interest in the *Historia Augusta* by inscribing many a note on the margins. Later, probably in 1587,² with other of Manetti's books, the codex containing the *Historia Augusta* passed to the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, there to be known as the *Codex Palatinus* and there to remain until, with the rest of that famous collection, it was sent to Rome in 1628 by Maximilian of Bavaria, and placed in the library of the Vatican.

The general interest in the *Historia Augusta* in the fifteenth century is well attested by the number of manuscripts that were made in that period.³ Among them was the copy of the *Codex Palatinus* which was made by the famous Poggio Bracciolini with his own hand and is still preserved in Florence.⁴

The same interest in the *Historia Augusta* that led to the multiplication of the manuscripts was responsible for its early appearance in printed form. One of the recent copies of the *Codex Palatinus*⁵ came into the hands of Bonus Accursius and from this was made the *Editio Princeps*, published in Milan in 1475. This was soon followed by an Aldine edition published

¹ H. Dessau, *l.c.*, p. 409.

² S. H. Ballou, p. 40.

³ See Peter's text, 2nd Ed. *Praefatio*, p. xxiii. f.

⁴ *The Codex Riccardianus* 551; see S. H. Ballou, p. 29.

⁵ Usually supposed to have been the *Codex Vaticanus* 5301; see Dessau, *l.c.*, p. 400 f. It has been maintained by Miss S. H. Ballou (p. 82 f.), however, that Accursius used Petrarch's manuscript, the Parisinus 5816.

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Venice in 1516, and by the more famous text
ed by Erasmus, and published by Froben in Basel
1518.

In these early editions the emphasis had been laid
on the Latin text, but in the seventeenth century the
work of the editors included not only textual emen-
dation, but comment and illustration. Of these
editions the first was that of Casaubon, published in
1629. It was not unnatural that these biographies
should have attracted the editor of Suetonius and
Cassius Dio and the scholar who wrote in the preface to
his edition of the *Historia Augusta* that "political
philosophy may be learned from history, and ethical
philosophy from biography".¹

Casaubon's edition was soon followed by that of
Gruter, published at Hanover in 1611. As professor
of Latin at Heidelberg, Gruter had access to the *Codex
Vaticanus* and based his text on this manuscript. It is
therefore not unnatural that he should have con-
centrated himself most of all with the text. Yet his
works are by no means confined to a discussion of the
readings of his manuscript, but include comment on
the narrative and the citation of parallels from other
classical authors. Yet his commentary lacks the
depth of Casaubon's, and in many a note he refers
the reader to the work of his great predecessor,
vir doctissimus noster, as he calls him.²

The work of Casaubon and Gruter was carried on
by the great Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise) in his
edition published in 1620. His contribution con-
sisted, not in the text, which was merely a re-publi-

L. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1892),
p. 10.

e.g. note to *Hadr.*, ii. 5.

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cation of Casaubon's, but in his commentary. As might be expected from one of his great learning, he included in his edition notes of wide scope and vast erudition, and little was left unnoticed that the knowledge of the age afforded.¹

So far, the *Historia Augusta* had been a subject for textual criticism and comment rather than a source for Roman history. The historical researches of the humanistic period dealt almost exclusively with the Roman Republic, or, at the latest, with Augustus,² and left these imperial biographies untouched. Besides Giovanni de Matociis and Guglielmo da Pastrengo, only Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola³ in his *Romuleon*, a compendium of Roman history from the founding of Rome to the period of Constantine, written soon after 1360, seems to have been largely dependent on the *Historia Augusta* for the history of the second and third centuries. In the later Renaissance, when the interest of scholars concerned itself with antiquarian,⁴ rather than strictly historical, research, the biographies would be valuable only for incidental information⁵ rather than for historical material. In the seventeenth century, on the other hand, they received serious attention. The *de*

¹ The notes of Casaubon, Gruter, and Salmasius are all incorporated in the *variorum* edition, published at Leyden in 1671.

² G. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung d. Class. Alt.* (Berlin, 1893) ii, p. 490 f.

³ Used by Casaubon and erroneously cited by him as Robertus a Porta Bononiensis, e.g., note to *Hadr.*, i. 1; see E. Hohl, *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, xxxv. (1915), 221 f.

⁴ See O. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung i. d. Stud. d. Alt. Gesch.* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 7 f.

⁵ e.g., the *Antiquitates Romanae* of J. Rosinus (Basel 1585 f.), where the *vitae* are frequently cited.

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Historicis Romanis of G. J. Vossius, published in 1627, devoted considerable space not only to the six biographers themselves, their respective dates, and the problem of the distribution of the various *vitae* among them, but also to the authors cited by them, especially Iulius Maximus and Junius Cordus.¹ Of much more importance, however, was their use by Lenain de Tillemont in his *Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers Siècles de l'Eglise*.² In spite of his general denunciation of the biographers as unworthy of the name of historian,³ and his occasional strictures on their self-contradictions,⁴ the chronological inexactness of Spartianus,⁵ and the crime-inspiring character of Lampridius' work,⁶ the *Historia Augusta* was a main source, together with Cassius Dio, for that part of his work which dealt with the second and third centuries.

Similarly important was the place that the *Historia Augusta* occupied among the sources used by Gibbon. Although his critical acumen detected many an instance of historical inaccuracy, and although he did not hesitate to score single instances with characteristic vigour,⁷ he accepted in general the information that it offered and even the point of view of the biographer.⁸

¹ See *Lib.* ii., cap. 2 f.

² In five volumes. Paris, 1690 f.

³ *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 217.

⁴ e.g., *ib.*, iii. p. 447 (Spartianus); iii. p. 489 f. (Capitolinus); iii. p. 526 (Pollio.)

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. p. 518; iii. pp. 448 f., 459.

⁶ *Ib.*, ii. p. 281.

⁷ e.g., his contrast between Cassius Dio who spoke "as a senator who had supped with the emperor" and Capitolinus who spoke "like a slave who had received his intelligence from one of the scullions"; Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 99.

⁸ e.g., his erroneous judgment on Gallienus, due to the *vita*; see Gibbon-Bury, vol. i. p. 446.

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In the nineteenth century the work of the biographers was still accorded respectful, though not uncritical, consideration. Thus Merivale held that "we may perhaps rely upon them generally for the account of the salient events of history and their views of character; but we must guard against the trifling and incredible anecdotes with which they abound,"¹ and, true to his principle, he constantly cites them as sources. Schiller, too, while observing that the later biographies are inferior to the earlier ones and that the value of their information varied with the source employed, regarded the material that they afford as useful for the political history of the empire,² and used them as sources, considering them, apparently, as important as Dio and Herodian. Even Mommsen in his *Römisches Staatsrecht* does not disdain these biographies, but cites them among his authorities in his reconstruction of the public law and administration of imperial Rome. It was left for the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth to bring the charge of utter spuriousness against the *Historia Augusta* and to assert that it is the work of a forger³—a charge which, in return, has led to a somewhat fanciful attempt to trace through many of the biographies the purple thread of an otherwise unknown historian of prime importance.⁴

¹ *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, 4th Ed. (American reprint, New York 1863-65), vii, p. 321, n. 1.

² *Gesch. d. Röm. Kaiserzeit* (Gotha, 1883), pp. 595 f. and 701.

³ H. Dessau, *Hermes*, xxiv. (1889), pp. 337-392; xxvii. (1892), pp. 561-605.

⁴ O. Th. Schulz, *Beiträge z. Kritik uns. litt. Ueberlieferung f. d. Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf d. Tod d. M. Aurelius Antoninus* (Caracalla), Leipzig, 1903.

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THE manuscripts of the *Historia Augusta* are divided into two main classes, each of which has such definite characteristics that the distinction between them is sharp and clear. Both classes are, indeed, derived from a common original, made after the loss of the *vitae* of the emperors from Philip to Valerian¹ and of considerable portions of the *vitae* of the Valeriani and the Gallieni. On the other hand, there is a conspicuous difference between the two classes in the manner in which the text has been treated. In one class, usually designated as Class II, the treatment has been most conservative. The text has been preserved free from all interpolations or additions, and especially the *lacunae* in the biographies of the Valeriani and the Gallieni have been carefully indicated by dots marking the missing letters. This class is also characterised by a confusion in the order of the biographies between Verus and Alexander and by the misplacement of two long passages from the *Alexander* and the *Maximini* (*Alex.*, xliii. 7—lviii. 1, and *Max.*, v. 3—xviii. 2), each of which corresponds to a quire of the original which became loose and and was then inserted in a wrong place. A similar

¹ See Intro., p. xiv.

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transposition occurs in the *Carus*, where c. xiii. 1—xv. 5 has been inserted in c. ii.

The manuscripts of the other class, designated as Class Σ , differ from those of Class II in that the text has been treated with the utmost freedom. In many places, where the original was corrupt, drastic emendations have been made, and where none seemed possible, the corrupt parts have been omitted altogether. This is especially conspicuous in the *lacunae* in the *vitae* of the Valeriani and the Gallieni, where all trace of the loss has been covered up by the insertion of words and the formation of a continuous text. In all this the aim has been to construct a smooth and easily readable narrative. In other places, such as the end of the *Caracalla* and of the *Maximus-Balbinus* and the beginning of the *Valeriani*, additions have been made to the text; and in the case of the *Marcus* considerable sections have been shifted about and then connected in their new places by arbitrary changes in the context. It is also characteristic of this class that the *vitae* (with the single exception of the *Avidius Cassius*) are arranged in chronological order and that the sections transposed in Class II are in their rightful places.

The manuscripts of Class II were supposed by Peter to consist of three main groups, all derived from the same archetype, and represented respectively by the *Codex Palatinus* 899 (P); the *Codex Bambergensis* (B); and the *Codex Vaticanus* 5301 with others. Peter accordingly regarded the Palatinus and the Bambergensis as equally authoritative. More recent investigation, however, as carried on by Mommsen¹ and Dessau,² has shown that the *Codex*

¹ *Herm.*, xxv. (1890), pp. 281-292 = *Ges. Schr.*, vii., pp. 352-362.

² *Herm.*, xxix. (1894), pp. 393-416.

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Palatinus is the parent manuscript, and that all the others of Class II are only direct or indirect copies of it. All contain errors and omissions which can be due only to a transcription of the *Palatinus*, over faithful or unskilful, as the case may be. Accordingly, only the *Palatinus* can be regarded as authoritative in this class, and the others may be used only for the purpose of confirmation or supplement.

The tradition contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ , though regarded as untrustworthy by Peter, was admitted by him to be possibly independent of that of Class II. This independence is more strongly maintained by Dr. Ernst Hohl.¹ He points to the chronological order of the *vitae* and to the correct arrangement of the quires transposed in the manuscripts of Class II as evidence for his conviction that the manuscripts of this class represent a tradition different from that of Class II, although, as the various omissions show, derived from a common original. He has, furthermore, cited in proof of his theory various passages in the biographies of Alexander and Aurelian contained in the manuscripts of Class Σ but not in the *Codex Palatinus*, and argues that these were excised from the original of the latter because of allusions to pagan deities. These considerations, together with a number of readings which are better than those of the *Palatinus*, have convinced him that the Σ manuscripts are derived ultimately from an original at least as old as the *Palatinus* and retaining more correctly many of the readings of their common archetype. On the other hand,

¹*Klio.*, xiii. (1913), pp. 258-288, 387-423; xv. (1918), pp. 78-98.

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Miss Susan H. Ballou,¹ following the opinion expressed by Dessau, argues that these divergencies from the tradition of Class II are of such a character that they can be merely the work of a clever, though unscrupulous, redactor. She holds that this man made his transcription from the *Codex Palatinus*, having before him all the corrections and additions that had been introduced by all the later correctors, and taking from all of them as many as suited his purpose. This transcription, she believes, was the original of the extant Σ manuscripts, which, accordingly, represent, not an independent tradition, but merely the work of an editor, who, by means of intelligent and original treatment of the material contained in the Palatinus and by the unscrupulous use of interpolation and re-arrangement, created a readable but unsound version of the text.

With only the present evidence available the problem of the value of the manuscripts of Class Σ must be regarded as still unsolved. The arguments advanced by Dr. Hohl are not altogether convincing, and it has not yet been fully demonstrated that the tradition of the Σ manuscripts is independent of those of Class II. For the present, therefore, any constitution of the text must be based on the readings of the *Codex Palatinus*.

¹ *The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta*, Leipzig, 1914.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

EDITIONS—

- Editio Princeps: edited by Bonus Accursius, Milan, 1475.
Venice Editions: printed by Bernadinus Ricius (Rizus), 1489, and J. Rubens de Vercellis, 1490.
Aldine Edition: edited by J. B. Egnatius, Venice, 1516; Florence, 1519.
Desiderius Erasmus: published by Froben, Basel, 1518.
Isaac Casaubon: Paris, 1603.
Janus Gruter: Hanover, 1611.
Claudius Salmasius; containing also Casaubon's notes: Paris, 1620; London, 1652.
C. Schrevel: Leyden, 1661.
Variorum Edition; containing the commentaries of Casaubon, Gruter, and Salmasius: published by Hack, Leyden, 1671.
Ulrich Obrecht: Strassburg, 1677.
J. P. Schmidt, with preface by J. L. E. Püttmann: Leipzig, 1774.
Bipontine Edition, 2 vols.: Zweibrücken and Strassburg, 1787 and 1789.
Pancouke, 3 vols.: Paris, 1844-1847.
Thomas Vallaurius: Turin, 1853.
H. Jordan and F. Eyssenhardt, 2 vols.: Berlin, 1864.
Hermann Peter, 2 vols. (Teubner Text): Leipzig, 1st Edition, 1865; 2nd Edition, 1884.

TRANSLATIONS—

GERMAN—

- J. P. Ostertag, 2 vols.: Frankfurt a. Main, 1790, 1793.
L. Storch; Hadrian, Aelius, and Antoninus Pius: Prenzlau, 1829.
C. A. Closs, 6 vols.: Stuttgart, 1856-1857.

FRENCH—

- G. de Moulines, 3 vols.: Berlin, 1788; 2nd Edition, Paris, 1806.

SPANISH—

- F. Navarro y Calvo, 2 vols.: Madrid, 1889-1890.

SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

VOL. I.

B

AELII SPARTIANI

DE VITA

H A D R I A N I

I. Origo imperatoris Hadriani vetustior a Picentibus, posterior ab Hispaniensibus manat; si quidem Hadrianos maiores suos apud Italiam Scipionum temporibus resedisse in libris vitae suae Hadrianus ipse commemorat.¹ Hadriano pater Aelius Hadrianus cognomento Afer fuit, consobrinus Traiani imperatoris; mater Domitia Paulina Gadibus orta, soror Paulina nupta Serviano, uxor Sabina, atavus Marulinus, qui primus in sua familia senator populi Romani fuit.

3 Natus est Romae VIII kal. Feb. Vespasiano septies

¹ *commemorat* P corr.; *commemoret* P¹, Petschenig.

¹ For the Autobiography of Hadrian, now lost, cf. c. xvi. It seems to have been written toward the close of his life, and, to judge from scanty citations from it, its purpose was to contradict current statements about himself which he considered derogatory to his reputation and to present him in a favourable light to posterity.

² An ancient town of Picenum, which became a Roman colony, probably about the time of Sulla.

³ In Hispania Baetica, on the Baetis (Guadalquivir),

HADRIAN

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

1. The original home of the family of the Emperor Hadrian was Picenum, the later, Spain; for Hadrian himself relates in his autobiography¹ that his forefathers came from Hadria,² but settled at Italica³ in the time of the Scipios. The father of Hadrian was Aelius Hadrianus, surnamed Afer, a cousin of the Emperor Trajan; his mother was Domitia Paulina, a native of Cadiz; his sister was Paulina, the wife of Servianus,⁴ his wife was Sabina,⁵ and his great-grandfather's grandfather was Marullinus, the first of his family to be a Roman senator.

Hadrian was born in Rome⁶ on the eighth day before the Kalends of February in the seventh consul-

shipped by Scipio Africanus about 205 B.C., received the rights of a municipality under Julius or Augustus, and was made a colony by Hadrian.

¹L. Julius Ursus Servianus, frequently mentioned in this biography. He governed several provinces under Trajan, and was made consul for a third time by Hadrian in 134. On his death in 136, see c. xxiii. 2, 8; xxv. 8; Dio, lxix. 17.

²See c. ii. 10 and note.

³This is, of course, a fiction, and the biography contradicts itself, for Italica is clearly the *patria* referred to in c. ii. 1 and 2, and c. xix. 1.

HADRIAN

- 4 et Tito quinquies consulibus. ac decimo aetatis anno
 patre orbatus Ulpium Traianum praetorium tunc,¹
 consobrinum suum, qui postea imperium tenuit, et
 Caelium Attianum equitem Romanum tutores habuit.
 5 imbutusque impensius Graecis studiis, ingenio eius
 sic ad ea declinante ut a nonnullis Graeculus
 II. diceretur. quintodecimo anno ad patriam rediit ac
 statim militiam iniit, venandi² usque ad reprehensionem
 2 studiosus. quare a Traiano abductus a patria
 et pro filio habitus nec multo post decemvir litibus
 iudicandis datus atque inde tribunus secundae
 3 Adiutricis legionis creatus. post hoc in inferiorem
 Moesiam translatus extremis iam Domitiani³ temporibus.
 4 ibi a mathematico quodam de futuro imperio
 id dicitur comperisse quod a patruo magno Aelio
 Hadriano peritia caelestium callente praedictum esse
 5 compererat. Traiano a Nerva adoptato ad gratulationem
 exercitus missus in⁴ Germaniam superiorem

¹ tunc P¹; uirum P corr. ² uenandi Novak; uenando P, Peter. ³ domitianis P¹, Petschenig. ⁴ in omitted by P¹, added by P corr.

¹ Trajan was praetor about 85, and so, until he became consul, in 91, was a *vir praetorius*.

² The name Caelius is an error. His name was Acilius Attianus, as it appears on an inscription from Elba; see *Röm. Mitt.*, xviii. 63-67. He became prefect of the guard under Trajan and seems to have been instrumental in securing the throne for Hadrian. On his retirement from the prefecture, see c. viii. 7; ix. 3-5.

³ The *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* had originally, in the republican period, the duty of determining disputed claims to freedom. Augustus removed suits for freedom from their jurisdiction, and gave them the conduct of the court of the *Centumviri*, which dealt with suits for inheritances. Appointment to this, or to one of five other minor magisterial

HADRIAN I. 4—II. 5

ship of Vespasian and the fifth of Titus. Bereft of his father at the age of ten, he became the ward of Ulpian Trajanus, his cousin, then of praetorian rank,¹ but afterwards emperor, and of Caelius Attianus,² a knight. He then grew rather deeply devoted to Greek studies, to which his natural tastes inclined so much that some called him "Greekling." II. He returned to his native city in his fifteenth year and at once entered military service, but was so fond of hunting that he incurred criticism for it, and for this reason Trajan recalled him from Italica. Thenceforth he was treated by Trajan as his own son, and not long afterwards he was made one of the ten judges of the inheritance-court,³ and, later, tribune of the Second Legion, the Adjutrix.⁴ After this, when Domitian's principate was drawing to a close, he was transferred to the province of Lower Moesia.⁵ There, it is said, he heard from an astrologer the same prediction of his future power which had been made, as he already knew, by his great-uncle, Aelius Hadrianus, a master of astrology. When Trajan was adopted⁶ by Nerva, Hadrian was sent to convey to him the army's congratulations and was at once

boards constituting the *vigintiviri*, was the first step in a career of public office.

¹So called because it had been recruited (by Vespasian) from an auxiliary force of marines. At this time it was serving probably in the province of Pannonia Inferior.

²As tribune of the Fifth Legion, the Macedonica. This command is listed among his other offices in an inscription set up in his honour at Athens in 112 (*C.I.L.*, iii. 550 = Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.*, 308), and it is known that this legion was quartered in Moesia Inferior at this time.

³Trajan was governor of the province of Germania Superior; he seems to have been appointed by Nerva in 96.

HADRIAN

6 translatus est. ex qua festinans ad Traianum, ut
 primus nuntiaret excessum Nervae, a Serviano, sororis
 viro, (qui et sumptibus et aere alieno eius prodito
 Traiani odium in eum movit) diu detentus fracto-
 que consulte vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens
 7 eiusdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. fuitque
 in amore Traiani, nec tamen ei per paedagogos
 puerorum quos Traianus impensius diligebat, . . .
 8 Gallo favente¹ defuit. quo quidem tempore cum
 sollicitus de imperatoris erga se iudicio, Vergilianas
 sortes consuleret,

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
 sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaeque menta
 regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
 fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
 missus in imperium magnum, cui deinde subibit . . .

sors excidit, quam alii ex Sibyllinis versibus ei prove-
 9 nisse dixerunt. habuit autem praesumptionem im-
 perii mox futuri ex fano quoque Nicephorii Iovis
 manante responso, quod Apollonius Syrus Platonicus
 10 libris suis indidit. denique statim suffragante Sura
 ad amicitiam Traiani pleniorē rediit, nepte per

¹ Lacuna suggested by Gemoll; *diligebat Gallo favente de-
 fuit P.*

¹ As tribune of the Twenty-second Legion, the *Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, according to the Athenian inscription (see p. 5, n. 5).

² A *beneficiarius* was a soldier who had been relieved of active service by some commandant and was attached to the suite of this official.

³ For similar consultations, cf. *Cl. Alb.*, v. 4; *Alex.*, iv. 6; xiv. 5; *Claud.*, x. 4f.

⁴ *Aen.*, vi. 808-812. The passage refers to Numa Pompilius.

⁵ Perhaps the place of this name near Pergamon.

⁶ Unknown.

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transferred to Upper Germany.¹ When Nerva died, Oct., 97. he wished to be the first to bring the news to Trajan, but as he was hastening to meet him he was detained by his brother-in-law, Servianus, the same man who had revealed Hadrian's extravagance and indebtedness and thus stirred Trajan's anger against him. He was further delayed by the fact that his travelling-carriage had been designedly broken, but he nevertheless proceeded on foot and anticipated Servianus' personal messenger.² And now he became a favourite of Trajan's, and yet, owing to the activity of the guardians of certain boys whom Trajan loved ardently, he was not free from . . . which Gallus fostered. Indeed, at this time he was even anxious about the Emperor's attitude towards him, and consulted the Vergilian oracle.³ This was the lot given out: ⁴

But who is yonder man, by olive wreath
Distinguished, who the sacred vessel bears?
I see a hoary head and beard. Behold
The Roman King whose laws shall stablish Rome
Anew, from tiny Cures' humble land

Called to a mighty realm. Then shall arise . . .
Others, however, declare that this prophecy came to him from the Sibylline Verses. Moreover, he received a further intimation of his subsequent power, in a response which issued from the temple of Jupiter at Nicephorium ⁵ and has been quoted by Apollonius of Syria,⁶ the Platonist. Finally, through the good offices of Sura,⁷ he was instantly restored to a friendship with Trajan that was closer than ever, and

¹ L. Licinius Sura was consul for the third time in 107. He commanded the army in the wars in Dacia and received the triumphal insignia and other high honours.

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sororem Traiani uxore accepta favente Plotina, Traiano leviter, ut Marius Maximus dicit, volente.

III. Quaesturam gessit Traiano quater et Articuleio consulibus, in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit.
 2 post quaesturam acta senatus curavit atque ad bellum
 3 Dacicum Traianum familiariter prosecutus est; quando quidem et indulsisse vino se dicit Traiani moribus obsequentem atque ob hoc se a Traiano locupletissime
 4 muneratum. tribunus plebis factus est Candido et
 5 Quadrato iterum consulibus, in quo magistratu ad perpetuam tribuniciam potestatem omen sibi factum adserit, quod paenulas amiserit, quibus uti tribuni plebis pluviae tempore solebant, imperatores autem numquam. unde hodieque imperatores sine paenulis
 6 a togatis videntur. secunda expeditione Dacica Traianus eum primae legioni Minerviae praeposuit secumque duxit; quando quidem multa egregia eius
 7 facta claruerunt. quare adamante gemma quam Tra-

¹ Vibia Sabina, the daughter of L. Vibius and Matidia, who was the daughter of Marciana, Trajan's sister. Plotina was Trajan's wife.

² L. Marius Maximus was the author of biographies of the emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus, frequently cited in these *Vitae*; see Intro., p. xvii f. He is probably the senator of the same name who held many important administrative posts under Septimius Severus and his successors.

³ He is called in the Athenian inscription *quaestor imperatoris Traiani*, i.e. he was one of the quaestors detailed to transact business for the emperor, and particularly to convey his messages to the senate and read them before the house.

⁴ The official known as *curator actorum senatus* or *ab actis senatus* drafted the record of the senate's transactions.

he took to wife the daughter of the Emperor's sister¹—a marriage advocated by Plotina, but, according to Marius Maximus,² little desired by Trajan himself.

He held the quaestorship³ in the fourth consulship of Trajan and the first of Articuleius, and 101. while holding this office he read a speech of the Emperor's to the senate and provoked a laugh by his somewhat provincial accent. He thereupon gave attention to the study of Latin until he attained the utmost proficiency and fluency. After his quaestorship he served as curator of the acts of the senate,⁴ and later accompanied Trajan in the Dacian war⁵ on terms of considerable intimacy, seeing, indeed, that falling in with Trajan's habits, as he says himself, he partook freely of wine, and for this was very richly rewarded by the Emperor. He was made tribune of the plebs in the second consulship of 105. Candidus and Quadratus, and he claimed that he received an omen of continuous tribunician⁶ power during this magistracy, because he lost the heavy cloak which is worn by the tribunes of the plebs in rainy weather, but never by the emperors. And down to this day the emperors do not wear cloaks when they appear in public before civilians. In the 105-106. second Dacian war, Trajan appointed him to the command of the First Legion, the Minervia, and took him with him to the war; and in this campaign his many remarkable deeds won great renown. Because of this he was presented with a diamond which

¹The first Dacian war (101-102). The inscription cited above reads: *Comes expeditionis Dacicae, donis militaribus ab eo (Traiano) donatus bis.*

²An allusion to the tribunician power held by the emperors, which was regarded as the basis of their civil powers; see note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

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ianus a Nerva acceperat donatus ad spem successionis
 8 erectus est. praetor factus est Suburano¹ bis et Ser-
 viano iterum consulibus, cum sestertium iterum² vices
 9 ad ludos edendos a Traiano accepit. legatus postea
 praetorius in Pannoniam inferiorem missus Sarmatas
 compressit, disciplinam militarem tenuit, procuratores
 10 latius evagantes coercuit. ob hoc consul est factus.
 in quo magistratu ut³ a Sura comperit adoptandum
 se a Traiano esse, ab amicis Traiani contemni desiit
 11 ac neglegi. et defuncto⁴ quidem Sura Traiani ei
 familiaritas crevit,⁵ causa praecipue orationum quas
 IV. pro imperatore dictaverat. usus Plotinae quoque
 favore, cuius studio etiam legatus expeditionis
 2 Parthicae tempore destinatus est. qua quidem
 tempestate utebatur Hadrianus amicitia Sosii Papi et
 Platorii⁶ Nepotis ex senatorio ordine, ex equestri

¹ Suburano Mommsen; *sub surano* P, Peter. ² *ilerum*
 deleted by Mommsen. ³ *ut* P corr.; *et* P¹. ⁴ *defuncto*
 P corr.; *definito* P¹. ⁵ *crevit* P corr.; *creavit* P¹; *crebuit*
 Peter. ⁶ *Platori* Borghesi; *pletori* P.

¹ Due to a precedent established by Augustus, who, when ill in 23 B.C., gave his ring to Agrippa, apparently intending him to be his successor; see Dio, liii, 30.

² The reading of P is impossible, for no such person as Suranus is known, but it is difficult to emend the text satisfactorily, since Suburanus was consul for the second time in 104, and Servianus was consul for the second time in 102. The consuls of 107, in which year Hadrian was probably praetor, were Sura, for the third time, and Senecio, for the second time.

³ This province was one of the "imperial provinces," which were governed in theory by the emperor but in practice by a deputy appointed by him with the title *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. The governor of the province under the control of the senate, on the other hand, had the title of *proconsul*.

Trajan himself had received from Nerva, and by this gift he was encouraged in his hopes of succeeding to the throne.¹ He held the praetorship in the second consulship of Suburanus and Servianus,² and again received from Trajan two million sesterces with which to give games. Next he was sent as praetorian legate to Lower Pannonia,³ where he held the Sarmatians in check, maintained discipline among the soldiers, and restrained the procurators,⁴ who were overstepping too freely the bounds of their power. In return for these services he was made consul. While he was holding this office he learned from Sura that he was to be adopted by Trajan, and thereupon he ceased to be an object of contempt and neglect to Trajan's friends. Indeed, after Sura's death Trajan's friendship for him increased, principally on account of the speeches which he composed for the Emperor. IV. He enjoyed, too, the favour of Plotina,⁵ and it was due to her interest in him that later, at the time of the campaign against Parthia, he was appointed the legate of the Emperor.⁶ At this same time he enjoyed, besides, the friendship of Sosius Papus and Platorius Nepos,⁷ both of the

Hadrian is called here *legatus praetorius* because he held this position as a *vir praetorius*, i.e. one who had been praetor but not yet consul.

¹The procurator was charged with the collection of taxes and other sources of revenue in an imperial province and their transmission to the *fiscus*, or privy purse.

²Cf. c. in 10.

³The appointment as legate refers to his governorship of Syria; see § 6.

⁴A. Platorius Nepos was prominent under Trajan as a magistrate at Rome and the governor of several important provinces and was consul with Hadrian in 119. He afterward incurred Hadrian's enmity; see c. xv. 2; xxiii. 4.

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- autem Attiani, tutoris quondam sui, et Liviani et ¹
³Turbonis. in adoptionis sponsionem venit Palma
et Celso, inimicis semper suis et quos postea ipse
insecutus est, in suspicionem adfectatae ² tyrannidis
⁴ lapsis. secundo consul favore Plotinae factus totam
⁵ praesumptionem adoptionis emeruit. corrupisse eum
Traiani libertos, curasse delicatos eosdemque sepelisse ³
per ea tempora quibus in aula familiarior ⁴ fuit, opinio
multa firmavit.
- ⁶ Quintum iduum Augustarum diem legatus Syriae
litteras adoptionis accepit; quando et natalem adop-
⁷ tionis celebrari iussit. tertium iduum earundem,
quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, ex-
cessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est.
- ⁸ Frequens sane opinio fuit Traiano id animi fuisse
ut Neratium Priscum, non Hadrianum, successorem
relinqueret, multis amicis in hoc consentientibus,
usque eo ut Prisco aliquando dixerit: "commendo
⁹ tibi provincias, si quid mihi fatale contigerit". et
multi quidem dicunt Traianum in animo id habuisse,
ut exemplo Alexandri Macedonis sine certo succes-

¹ et omitted by P, added by Hirschfeld. ² *adfectatae* Petschenig; *adfectae* P; *adfectae* Peter with Salm. ³ *sepe-*
lisse P; *ad se pellexisse* Peter². ⁴ *familiarior* P; *famili-*
ariorum B, Peter.

¹ T. Claudius Livianus was prefect of the guard under Trajan and held a command in the first Dacian war; see Dio, lxi. 9.

² For the career of Q. Marcius Turbo under Trajan and Hadrian see c. v-vii. He was finally appointed prefect of the guard; see c. ix. 4.

³ A. Cornelius Palma and L. Publilius Celsus held important offices under Trajan and statues were erected in their

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enatorial order, and also of Attianus, his former guardian, of Livianus,¹ and of Turbo,² all of equestrian rank. And when Palma and Celsus,³ always his enemies, on whom he later took vengeance, fell under suspicion of aspiring to the throne, his adoption seemed assured; and it was taken wholly for granted when, through Plotina's favour, he was appointed consul for the second time. That he was bribing Trajan's freedmen and courting and corrupting his favourites all the while that he was in close attendance at court, was told and generally believed.

On the fifth day before the Ides of August, while 9 Aug., 11 he was governor of Syria, he learned of his adoption by Trajan, and he later gave orders to celebrate this day as the anniversary of his adoption. On the third day before the Ides of August he received the news 11 Aug., 117. of Trajan's death, and this day he appointed as the anniversary of his accession.

There was, to be sure, a widely prevailing belief that Trajan, with the approval of many of his friends, had planned to appoint as his successor not Hadrian but Neratius Priscus,⁴ even to the extent of once saying to Priscus: "I entrust the provinces to your care in case anything happens to me". And, indeed, many aver that Trajan had purposed to follow the example of Alexander of Macedonia and die without naming a successor. Again, many others declare that

honour. Nothing is known of the suspicion alluded to here, but the two men, together with Nigrinus and Lusius Quietus, were later accused of a conspiracy against Hadrian and put to death; see c. vii. 1-3.

⁴L. Neratius Priscus was a famous jurist and his works were used in the compilation of Justinian's *Digest*. He was a member of Trajan's imperial council, and later was one of Hadrian's advisers in legal questions; see c. xviii. 1.

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sore moreretur, multi ad senatum eum orationem voluisse mittere petiturum, ut, si quid ei evenisset, principem Romanae rei publicae senatus daret, additis dum taxat nominibus ex quibus optimum idem¹⁰ senatus eligeret. nec desunt qui factione Plotinae mortuo iam Traiano Hadrianum in adoptionem adscitum esse prodiderint, supposito qui pro Traiano fessa voce loquebatur.¹

V. Adeptus imperium ad priscum se statim morem instituit et tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam impendit.² nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacescebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya³ denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos³ efferebant. quare omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplo, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedones liberos pronuntiavit, quia tueri non poterant.⁴ Parthamasirin,⁴ quem Traianus Parthis regem fecerat,

¹ loqueretur P corr. ² impendit P corr., Petschenig, Novak, and Lessing; intendit P¹, Peter. ³ Libya Cas.; licia P. ⁴ Parthamasirin, see Prosop. III, p. 13; sarmatosirin P; Partomasirin Peter².

¹ Augustus had bequeathed as a policy the *consilium coerendi intra terminos imperii* (Tacitus, *Annals*, i. 11), these natural boundaries being the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. This policy had been abandoned by Trajan in his conquests of Dacia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Hadrian's new policy is proclaimed in the legends on his coins, *Iustitia* (Cohen, ii², p. 179, No. 874 f.) and *Pax* (Cohen, ii², p. 190, No. 1011 f.).

² Cf. § 8 and c. vi. 7.

³ Cf. c. vi. 6.

⁴ i.e. Alexandria, where the Jews were rioting, incited perhaps by the example of their fellow-countrymen in Palestine.

he had meant to send an address to the senate, requesting this body, in case aught befell him, to appoint a ruler for the Roman empire, and merely appending the names of some from among whom the senate might choose the best. And the statement has even been made that it was not until after Trajan's death that Hadrian was declared adopted, and then only by means of a trick of Plotina's; for she smuggled in someone who impersonated the Emperor and spoke in a feeble voice.

V. On taking possession of the imperial power Hadrian at once resumed the policy of the early emperors,¹ and devoted his attention to maintaining peace throughout the world. For the nations which Trajan had conquered began to revolt; the Moors, moreover, began to make attacks,² and the Sarmatians to wage war,³ the Britons could not be kept under Roman sway, Egypt⁴ was thrown into disorder by riots, and finally Libya⁵ and Palestine⁶ showed the spirit of rebellion. Whereupon he relinquished all the conquests east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, following, as he used to say, the example of Cato, who urged that the Macedonians, because they could not be held as subjects, should be declared free and independent.⁷ And Parthamasiris,⁸ appointed king

¹ i.e. the Cyrenaica, where at the end of Trajan's reign the Jews had risen and massacred many Greeks and Romans; see Dio, lxxviii. 32.

² Cf. § 8.

³ This measure was apparently advocated in a speech made before the senate in 167 B.C. after the defeat of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna (see Livy, xlv. 17-18). Macedonia was divided into four independent districts, an arrangement which proved untenable.

⁴ An error for Parthamaspatas. This prince had deserted his cousin, the Parthian king, and sided with Trajan in the

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quod eum non magni ponderis apud Parthos videret, proximis gentibus dedit regem.

- 5 Tantum autem statim clementiae studium habuit ut, cum sub primis imperii diebus ab Attiano per epistolas esset admonitus, ut et Baebius Macer praefectus urbis, si reniteretur eius imperio, necaretur et Laberius Maximus, qui suspectus imperio in insula exsulabat, et Frugi Crassus, neminem laeder et; 6 quamvis Crassum postea procurator egressum insula, quasi res novas moliretur, iniussu¹ eius occiderit. 7 militibus ob auspicia imperii duplicem largitionem 8 dedit. Lusium Quietum sublatis gentibus Mauris, quos regebat, quia suspectus imperio fuerat, exarmavit, Marcio Turbone Iudaeis compressis ad deprimendum tumultum Mauretaniae destinato.

- 9 Post haec Antiochia digressus est ad inspiciendas

¹ *iniussu* P, accepted by Petschenig; *iniussu* Peter¹.

Parthian war; he was rewarded by being made king after Trajan's victory in 116-117. The Parthians deposed him, and Hadrian accordingly assigned to him, at least for a time, the district of Osrhoene in north-western Mesopotamia. Cf. c. xxi. 10, and Dio, lxxviii. 30 and 33.

² The biography is anticipating here. This letter was doubtless written after Attianus had returned to Rome with Trajan's ashes; see § 10.

³ Baebius Macer was one of the friends and correspondents of the younger Pliny; see Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 5. The prefect of the city was in command of the three cohorts which were responsible for the maintenance of order in Rome.

⁴ M'. Laberius Maximus seems to have held a command in the first Dacian war, and was consul for the second time in 103. Nothing further is known of these "designs".

⁵ C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi conspired against Nerva and was banished to Tarentum. He was later brought to trial on the charge of conspiring against Trajan and was condemned (Dio, lxxviii. 3 and 16).

⁶ Lusius Quietus, a Moor by birth and a captain of a squad-

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of the Parthians by Trajan, he assigned as ruler to the neighbouring tribes, because he saw that the man was held in little esteem by the Parthians.

Moreover, he showed at the outset such a wish to be lenient, that although Attianus advised him by letter in the first few days of his rule¹ to put to death Baebius Macer,² the prefect of the city, in case he opposed his elevation to power, also Laberius Maximus,³ then in exile on an island under suspicion of designs on the throne, and likewise Crassus Frugi,⁴ he nevertheless refused to harm them. Later on, however, his procurator, though without an order from Hadrian, had Crassus killed when he tried to leave the island, on the ground that he was planning a revolt. He gave a double donative to the soldiers in order to ensure a favourable beginning to his principate. He deprived Lusius Quietus⁵ of the command of the Moorish tribesmen, who were serving under him, and then dismissed him from the army, because he had fallen under the suspicion of having designs on the throne; and he appointed Marcus Turbo, after his reduction of Judaea, to quell the insurrection in Mauretania.

After taking these measures he set out from Antioch to view the remains of Trajan,⁶ which were

son of Moorish horse, had been a commander in Trajan's Parthian war. He had subsequently been appointed governor of Judaea by Trajan. The dismissal of the Moorish troops was a preliminary to the enforced retirement of Quietus, since he was now unable to offer any resistance to Hadrian. He was afterwards accused of conspiring against Hadrian and was put to death; see c. vii. 1-3.

⁶ Probably to Seleucia, whither Trajan's body was brought from Selinus in Cilicia, the place of his death. Here the body was burned and the ashes sent to Rome; cf. Victor, *Epit.*, xiv, 12.

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reliquias Traiani, quas Attianus, Plotina et Matidia
 10 deferebant. quibus exceptis et navi Romam dimissis
 ipse Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio
 Severo per Illyricum Romam venit.

VI, Traiano divinos honores datis ad senatum et qui-
 dem accuratissimis litteris postulavit et cunctis volenti-
 bus meruit, ita ut senatus multa, quae Hadrianus non
 postulaverat, in honorem Traiani sponte decerneret.
 2 cum ad senatum scriberet, veniam petiit, quod de
 imperio suo iudicium senatui non dedisset, salutatus
 scilicet praepropere a militibus imperator, quod esse
 3 res publica sine imperatore non posset. cum tri-
 umphum ei senatus, qui Traiano debitus erat, detulisset,
 recusavit ipse atque imaginem Traiani curru
 triumphali vexit, ut optimus imperator ne post mortem
 4 quidem triumphum amitteret dignitatem. patris patriae
 nomen delatum sibi statim et iterum postea distulit,
 5 quod hoc nomen Augustus sero meruisset. aurum

¹ See note to c. ii. 10.

² L. Catilius Severus was a friend and correspondent of Pliny; see Pliny, *Epist.*, i. 22; iii. 12. He became consul for the second time in 120, was proconsul of Asia, and in 138 prefect of the city; see c. xxiv. 6-8. He was the great-grandfather of Marcus Aurelius; see *Marc.*, i. 4.

³ Used here to denote the provinces along the southern bank of the Danube. His route lay across Asia Minor, and it was probably in this region that he received the news of the war threatened by the tribes north of the river; cf. c. vi. 6. He arrived in Moesia in the spring of 118, and finally reached Rome in July, 118; cf. c. vii. 3.

⁴ Acclamation by the army constituted a strong *de facto* claim to the imperial power, but it is now generally recognized (in spite of Mommsen's theory to the contrary) that only the senate could legally confer the *imperium*.

⁵ This triumph was commemorated by coins bearing on the obverse the head of Trajan with the legend *Divo Traiano Parth*

being escorted by Attianus, Plotina, and Matidia.¹ He received them formally and sent them on to Rome by ship, and at once returned to Antioch; he then appointed Catilius Severus² governor of Syria, and proceeded to Rome by way of Illyricum.³

VI. Despatching to the senate a carefully worded letter, he asked for divine honours for Trajan. This request he obtained by a unanimous vote; indeed, the senate voluntarily voted Trajan many more honours than Hadrian had requested. In this letter to the senate he apologized because he had not left it the right to decide regarding his accession,⁴ explaining that the unseemly haste of the troops in acclaiming him emperor was due to the belief that the state could not be without an emperor. Later, when the senate offered him the triumph which was to have been Trajan's, he refused it for himself, and caused the effigy of the dead Emperor to be carried in a triumphal chariot, in order that the best of emperors might not lose even after death the honour of a triumph.⁵ Also he refused for the present the title of Father of his Country, offered to him at the time of his accession and again later on, giving as his reason the fact that Augustus had not won it until late in life.⁶ Of the crown-

(ico) *Augusto Patri* and on the reverse a four-horse chariot driven by the Emperor who holds a laurel-branch and a sceptre, with the legend *triumphus Parthicus*; see Cohen, ii², p. 78, No. 585.

¹This title was conferred on Augustus in 2 B.C., twenty-five years after he received the *imperium* and the name of Augustus. In the case of the Julio-Claudian emperors after Tiberius (who never held this title) about a year was allowed to elapse before the honour was conferred. Hadrian finally accepted it in 128; see note to c. xiii. 4. The precedent of a postponement was also followed by Pius (*Pius*, vi. 6), and Marcus (*Marc.*, ix. 3).

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~~corruptionem~~ Italiae remisit, in provinciis minuit, et
~~quidem~~ difficultatibus aerarii ambitiose ac diligenter
~~expositis.~~

6 Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxolanorum
7 praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petiit. Marcium
Turbonem post Mauretaniam¹ praefecturae infulis
ornatum Pannoniae Daciaeque ad tempus praefecit.
8 cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de imminentis stipendiis
quereretur, cognito negotio pacem composuit.

✓ VII. Nigrini insidias, quas ille sacrificanti Hadriano
conscio sibi Lusio et multis aliis paraverat, cum etiam
successorem Hadrianus sibimet destinasset, evasit.
2 quare Palma Tarracinis, Celsus Baiis, Nigrinus
Faventiae, Lusius in itinere senatu iubente, invito
3 Hadriano, ut ipse in vita sua dicit, occisi sunt. unde
statim Hadrianus ad refellendam tristissimam de se

¹ *Mauretaniam* Peter; *maurataneae* P¹; *mauritaniae*
P corr.

¹ A contribution for the purpose of providing gold wreaths (in imitation of laurel) which were held over the head of the general in his triumph. Such contributions were originally voluntary, but soon became obligatory. Augustus had remitted them (*Mon. Anc.*, c. 21), but his example does not seem to have been followed by his immediate successors. Partial remission is recorded in the cases of Pius (*Pius*, iv. 10) and Alexander (*Alex.*, xxxii. 5), and proclamations of remission by Trajan and Marcus are preserved in a papyrus (*Fayoum Towns and their Papyri*, No. 116).

² The compressed style of the narrative combines those two tribes here, but they must be carefully distinguished. The Roxolani lived at the mouth of the Danube; they had been constituted a vassal-state by Trajan. On the other hand, the term *Sarmatae* is used to denote the independent Iazyges

money¹ for his triumph he remitted Italy's contribution, and lessened that of the provinces, all the while setting forth grandiloquently and in great detail the straits of the public treasury.

Then, on hearing of the incursions of the Sarmatians and Roxolani,² he sent the troops ahead and set out for Moesia. He conferred the insignia of a prefect on Marcius Turbo after his Mauretanian campaign and appointed him to the temporary command of Pannonia and Dacia.³ When the king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of his subsidy, he investigated his case and made peace with him.

VII. A plot to murder him while sacrificing was made by Nigrinus, with Lusius and a number of others as accomplices, even though Hadrian had destined Nigrinus⁴ for the succession; but Hadrian successfully evaded this plot. Because of this conspiracy Palma was put to death at Tarracina, Celsus at Baiæ, Nigrinus at Faventia,⁵ and Lusius on his journey homeward, all by order of the senate, but contrary to the wish of Hadrian, as he says himself in his autobiography. Whereupon Hadrian entrusted who lived in the great plain between the Theiss and the Danube.

¹ This was an extraordinary command, for Pannonia and Dacia, like other imperial provinces, were always assigned to senatorial legates, and Turbo was a knight. The only instance of an equestrian governor was the prefect of Egypt, the viceroy of the emperor (who in theory was king of Egypt), and this appointment of a knight to govern the provinces on the Danube seemed to have a precedent in the prefecture of Egypt (cf. c. vii. 3).

² Probably C. Avidius Nigrinus, mentioned by Pliny in *Epist. ad Traian.*, lxxv. and lxxvi. On the other conspirators see notes to c. iv. 3, and v. 8.

³ Now Faenza; in the Po valley, about thirty miles S.E. of Bologna.

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opinionem, quod occidi passus esset uno tempore quattuor consulares, Romam venit, Dacia Turboni credita, titulo Aegyptiacae praefecturae, quo plus auctoritatis haberet, ornato, et ad comprimendam de se famam congiarium duplex praesens populo dedit, 4 ternis iam per singulos aureis se absente divis. in senatu quoque excusatis quae facta erant iuravit se numquam senatorem nisi ex senatus sententia puni- 5 niturum. statum¹ cursum fiscalem instituit, ne 6 magistratus hoc onere gravarentur. ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil praetermittens, infinitam pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquiis ingentes summas remisit, syngraphis in foro divi Traiani,² quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, 7 incensis. damnatorum bona in fiscum privatum

¹ *statum* Peter; *statim* P (defended by Herzog *R. Stof.* II, 359, 1). ² *hadriani* P¹; *al' traiani* P corr.

¹ As he had already done for the soldiers; see c. v. 7.

² A gold coin of the value of 100 sesterces or 25 denarii, or (very approximately) five dollars.

³ It had long been a moot question whether the emperor had the right to put senators to death without formal trial and condemnation by the senate. Neither the later Julio-Claudian nor the Flavian emperors had recognized the right of a senator to trial by his fellow-senators only. Nerva, on the other hand, took an oath that he would not put a senator to death (Dio, lxxviii. 2), and Trajan seems to have followed his example (Dio, lxxviii. 5). For the practice of later emperors see *Marc.*, x. 6; xxv. 6; xxvi. 13; xxix. 4.

⁴ Also called *cursus vehicularius* (*Pius*, xii. 3), and *munus vehicularium* (*Sev.* xiv. 2). Previous to Hadrian's reform the cost of the maintenance of the post had fallen on the provincial towns, but henceforth it was borne by the *fiscus*. The department was under the direction of an official of equestrian rank, known as the *praefectus vehiculorum*.

⁵ The sum remitted was 900,000,000 sesterces; see coins

the command in Dacia to Turbo, whom he dignified, in order to increase his authority, with a rank analogous to that of the prefect of Egypt. He then hastened to Rome in order to win over public opinion, which was hostile to him because of the belief that on one single occasion he had suffered four men of consular rank to be put to death. In order to check the rumours about himself, he gave in person a double largess to the people,¹ although in his absence three aurei² had already been given to each of the citizens. In the senate, too, he cleared himself of blame for what had happened, and pledged himself never to inflict punishment on a senator until after a vote of the senate.³ He established a regular imperial post,⁴ in order to relieve the local officials of such a burden. Moreover, he used every means of gaining popularity. He remitted to private debtors in Rome and in Italy immense sums of money owed to the privy-purse,⁵ and in the provinces he remitted large amounts of arrears; and he ordered the promissory notes to be burned in the Forum of the Deified Trajan,⁶ in order that the general sense of security might thereby be increased. He gave orders that the property of condemned persons should not accrue to the privy-

of 118, Cohen, ii², p. 208 f., Nos. 1210-1213, and an inscription found at Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi. 967. He also issued an order providing for a similar cancelling every fifteen years; see Dio, lxi. 8, 1; cf. also *Marc.*, xxiii. 3, and note.

⁶ Situated at the south-western corner of the Esquiline Hill, a part of which was cut away in order to provide sufficient space. It was surrounded by colonnades, portions of which are extant, and on its north-western side was the Basilica Ulpia; north-west of this was the column of Trajan, flanked by two buildings containing the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*. Just beyond was the *Templum Divi Traiani et Plotinae*, erected by Hadrian (c. xix. 9).

HADRIAN

redigi vetuit, omni summa in aerario publico recepta.
 8 pueris ac puellis, quibus etiam Traianus alimenta
 9 detulerat, incrementum liberalitatis adiecit. sena-
 toribus, qui non vitio suo decoxerant, patrimonium
 pro liberorum modo senatoriae professionis explevit,
 ita ut plerisque in diem vitae suae dimensum sine
 10 dilatione praestiterit.¹ ad honores explendos non
 solum amicis, sed etiam passim aliquantis multa
 11 largitus est. feminas nonnullas ad sustentandam
 12 vitam sumptibus iuvit. gladiatorium munus per sex
 dies continuos exhibuit et mille feras natali suo
 edidit.

VIII. Optimos quosque de senatu in contubernium
 2 imperatoriae maiestatis adseivit. ludos circenses prae-
 3 ter natalicios decretos sibi sprexit. et in contione et
 in senatu saepe dixit ita se rem publicam gesturum ut
 4 scirent² populi rem esse, non propriam. tertio con-
 sules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plurimos fecit, infinitos
 5 autem secundi consulatus honore cumulavit. ipsum
 autem tertium consulatum et quattuor mensibus

¹ *praestiterit* Cas. ; *resteterit* P¹ ; *restituerit* P corr. ² *sci-*
rent Ellis ; *sciret* P, Peter.

¹ The *alimenta* were grants of money paid by the imperial government to the children of the poor of Italy. The plan was made by Nerva but actually carried out by Trajan. For the purpose of the distribution of these grants Italy was divided into districts, often known by the name of the great roads which traversed them (see *Pert.*, ii. 2).

² The sum necessary for the position of senator was 1,000,000 sesterces.

³ The custom had arisen that on important occasions in

purse, and in each case deposited the whole amount in the public treasury. He made additional appropriations for the children to whom Trajan had allotted grants of money.¹ He supplemented the property of senators impoverished through no fault of their own, making the allowance in each case proportionate to the number of children, so that it might be enough for a senatorial career²; to many, indeed, he paid punctually on the date the amount allotted for their living. Sums of money sufficient to enable men to hold office he bestowed, not on his friends alone, but also on many far and wide, and by his donations he helped a number of women to sustain life. He gave gladiatorial combats for six days in succession, and on his birthday he put into the arena a thousand wild beasts.

VIII. The foremost members of the senate he admitted to close intimacy with the emperor's majesty. All circus-games decreed in his honour he refused, except those held to celebrate his birthday.³ Both in meetings of the people and in the senate he used to say that he would so administer the commonwealth that men would know that it was not his own but the people's. Having himself been consul three times, he reappointed many to the consulship for the third time and men without number to a second term; his own third consulship he held for only four months, and during his term he often administered justice.

the reign of an emperor races in the Circus should be voted by the senate as a mark of honour. From the time of Augustus the birthday of the emperor was similarly celebrated, and in the case of some emperors, *e.g.* Pertinax and Severus, also the *natalis imperii* or day of the accession to the throne; see *Pert.*, xv, 5, and Dio, lxxviii. 8. Pius followed Hadrian's example in accepting birthday-games only; see *Pius*, v. 2.

HADRIAN

6 tantum egit et in eo saepe ius dixit. senatui legitimo,
cum in urbe vel iuxta urbem esset, semper interfuit.
7 senatus fastigium in tantum extulit, difficile faciens
senatores ut, cum Attianum ex praefecto praetorii
ornamentis consularibus praeditum faceret senatorem,
nihil se amplius habere quod in eum conferri posset
8 ostenderit. equites Romanos nec sine se de sena-
9 toribus nec secum iudicare permisit. erat enim tunc
mos ut, cum princeps causas agnosceret, et senatores
et equites Romanos in consilium vocaret et sententiam
10 ex omnium deliberatione proferret. execratus est
denique principes qui minus senatoribus detulissent.
11 Serviano sororis viro, cui tantum detulit ut ei venienti
de cubiculo semper occurrerit, tertium consulatum,
nec secum tamen, cum ille bis ante Hadrianum fuis-
set, ne esset secundae sententiae, non petenti ac sine
precatione concessit.

IX. Inter haec tamen et multas provincias a Traiano
adquisitas reliquit et theatrum, quod ille in Campo

¹ This did not include a seat in the senate, but consisted of the privilege of sitting with the senators of consular rank at the public festivals and at sacred banquets and of wearing the *toga praetexta* on such occasions. Since the time of Nero this honorary rank had often been bestowed on prefects of the guard on their retirement from office; see also *Pius*, x. 6.

² See note to c. vii. 4.

³ The *consilium* of the emperor was a development from the old principle that a magistrate, before rendering an important decision, should ask advice from trusted friends. So Augustus

HADRIAN VIII. 6—IX.

He always attended regular meetings of the senate if he was present in Rome or even in the neighbourhood. In the appointment of senators he showed the utmost caution and thereby greatly increased the dignity of the senate, and when he removed Attianus from the post of prefect of the guard and created him a senator with consular honours,¹ he made it clear that he had no greater honour which he could bestow upon him. Nor did he allow knights to try cases involving senators² whether he was present at the trial or not. For at that time it was customary for the emperor, when he tried cases, to call to his council³ both senators and knights and give a verdict based on their joint decision. Finally, he denounced those emperors who had not shown this deference to the senators. On his brother-in-law Servianus, to whom he showed such respect that he would advance to meet him as he came from his chamber, he bestowed a third consulship, and that without any request or entreaty on Servianus' part; but nevertheless he did not appoint him as his own colleague, since Servianus had been consul twice before Hadrian, and the Emperor did not wish to have second place.⁴

IX. And yet, at the same time, Hadrian abandoned many provinces won by Trajan,⁵ and also destroyed,

and his successors had their boards of advisers. Until the time of Hadrian this board was not official or permanent, but from his reign on its members, the *consiliarii Augusti*, had a definite position and received a salary. Jurists of distinction were included in it; see c. xviii. 1.

¹ If Servianus, who was consul for the second time in 102, were associated with Hadrian in the Emperor's second consulship in 118 or third in 119, he would by reason of his seniority outrank his imperial colleague; see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, iii. p. 976, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. c. v. 3.

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2 Martio posuerat, contra omnium vota destruxit. et
 haec quidem eo tristiora videbantur, quod omnia,
 quae displicere vidisset ¹ Hadrianus, mandata sibi ut
 3 faceret secreto ² a Traiano esse simulabat. cum At-
 tiani, praefecti sui et quondam tutoris, potentiam
 ferre non posset, nisus est eum obtruncare, sed revo-
 catus est, quia iam quattuor consularium occisorum,
 quorum quidem necem in Attiani consilia refundebat,
 4 premebatur invidia. cui cum successorem dare non
 posset, quia non petebat, id egit ut peteret, atque
 ubi primum petiit, in Turbonem transtulit potesta-
 5 tem; cum quidem etiam Simili alteri praefecto
 Septicium Clarum successorem dedit.
 6 Summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat im-
 perium, Campaniam petiit eiusque omnia oppida
 beneficiis et largitionibus sublevavit, optimum quem-
 7 que amicitiiis suis iungens. Romae vero praetorum
 et consulum officia frequentavit, conviviiis amicorum
 interfuit, aegros bis ac ter die et nonnullos equites
 Romanos ac libertinos visitavit, solaciis refovit, con-

¹ *displicere vidisset* P corr.; *displicerentur uidisse* P^l.
² *secreto* Mommsen; *decreto* P^l; *decreta* P corr.

¹ Cf. c. vii. 2-3.

² The term of office of the prefect of the guard was unlimited, and often was for life. This passage seems to show that at least a form of voluntary resignation from the office was customary. Attianus, according to precedent, was advanced to senatorial rank with the *ornamenta consularia*; see c. viii. 7.

³ C. Sulpicius Similis was prefect of the grain-supply, of Egypt, and, finally, of the praetorian guard. According to Dio (lxix. 20), it was only with difficulty that he secured Hadrian's permission to retire.

⁴ From the time of Augustus the old republican principle of colleagueship had been applied to the command of the praetorian guard and there were ordinarily two prefects with

HADRIAN IX. 2-7

contrary to the entreaties of all, the theatre which Trajan had built in the Campus Martius. These measures, unpopular enough in themselves, were still more displeasing to the public because of his pretence that all acts which he thought would be offensive had been secretly enjoined upon him by Trajan. Unable to endure the power of Attianus, his prefect and formerly his guardian, he was eager to murder him. He was restrained, however, by the knowledge that he already laboured under the odium of murdering four men of consular rank,¹ although, as a matter of fact, he always attributed their execution to the designs of Attianus. And as he could not appoint a successor for Attianus except at the latter's request, he contrived to make him request it,² and at once transferred the power to Turbo; at the same time Similis³ also, the other prefect,⁴ received a successor, namely Septicius Clarus.⁵

After Hadrian had removed from the prefecture the very men to whom he owed the imperial power,¹¹⁹ he departed for Campania, where he aided all the towns of the region by gifts and benefactions⁶ and attached all the foremost men to his train of friends. But when at Rome, he frequently attended the official functions of the praetors and consuls, appeared at the

equal powers. The principle, however, had been disregarded at times, e.g. in the case of Sejanus under Tiberius (Dio, lvii. 19). Under the later emperors there were sometimes three prefects; cf. *Com.*, vi. 12; *Did. Jul.*, vii. 5; Zosimus, i. 11.

² C. Septicius Clarus was the friend of Suetonius, who dedicated to him his *Lives of the Caesars*. He also encouraged Pliny to publish his letters; see Plin., *Epist.*, i. 1. On his retirement from the prefecture see c. xi. 3.

³ The following are attested by inscriptions of the years 121-122: Antium, Caiatia, Surrentum, and the road from Naples to Nuceria; see *C.I.L.*, x. 6652, 4574, 676, 6939, 6940.

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8 siliis sublevavit, convivii suis semper adhibuit. omnia
9 denique ad privati hominis modum fecit. socruī suae
honores praecipuos impendit ludis gladiatorii ceteris-
que officiis.

X. Post haec profectus in Gallias omnes civitates
2 variis¹ liberalitatibus sublevavit. inde in Germaniam
transiit. pacisque magis quam belli cupidus militem,
quasi bellum immineret, exercuit tolerantiae docu-
mentis eum imbuens, ipse quoque inter manipula
vitam militarem magistrans, cibis etiam castrensibus
in propatulo libenter utens, hoc est larido caseo et
posca, exemplo Scipionis Aemiliani et Metelli et
auctoris sui Traiani, multos praemiis nonnullos honori-
bus donans, ut ferre possent ea quae asperius iube-

¹ *civitates variis (libertatibus)* Rob. Bonon., supported by
Rösinger and Damsté; *casuariis* P; *causarios* Peter.

¹ By a largess of spices (see c. xix. 5), and by issuing coins
bearing the legend *Divae Matidiaē Socruī* with a representa-
tion of a temple-like building in which Matidia is seated be-
tween niches holding statuettes of Victory; see Cohen, ii²,
p. 152, No. 550.

² His first journey is described in c. x. 1—xi. 2 and xii. 1—
xiii. 3. It covered the years 121-125. Then followed a journey
to Africa and back in 128. This was followed by his second
journey, which included the eastern part of the empire only,
in 128-134; see c. xiii. 6—xiv. 6 (the portion of the journey
which fell after 130 is not included).

³ His visit was commemorated by coins with the legends
Adventui Galliae (Cohen, ii², p. 109 f., Nos. 31-35) and *Re-
stitutor Galliae* (Cohen, ii², p. 211, Nos. 1247-1257).

⁴ His journey probably lay along the road from Lugdunum

banquets of his friends, visited them twice or thrice a day when they were sick, even those who were merely knights and freedmen, cheered them by words of comfort, encouraged them by words of advice, and very often invited them to his own banquets. In short, everything that he did was in the manner of a private citizen. On his mother-in-law he bestowed especial honour by means of gladiatorial games and other ceremonies.¹ Dec., 119.

X. After this he travelled² to the provinces of Gaul,³ and came to the relief of all the communities with various acts of generosity; and from there he went over into Germany.⁴ Though more desirous of peace than of war, he kept the soldiers in training just as if war were imminent, inspired them by proofs of his own powers of endurance, actually led a soldier's life among the maniples,⁵ and, after the example of Scipio Aemilianus,⁶ Metellus, and his own adoptive father Trajan, cheerfully ate out of doors such camp-fare as bacon, cheese and vinegar. And that the troops might submit more willingly to the increased harshness of his orders, he bestowed gifts on many and honours on a few. For he re-established the discipline of the camp,⁷ which since

(Lyon) to Augusta Treverorum (Trier), which was repaired in 121; see Brambach, *Corp. Inscr. Rhen.*, 1936. His visit to the German armies was commemorated on coins with the legend *Exercitus Germanicus*; see Cohen, ii², p. 156, Nos. 573 and 574.

³ Used here merely to denote the common soldiers; the "maniple" consisted of two *centuriae*.

⁴ i.e. Scipio Africanus the younger, conqueror of Carthage. Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus commanded in the war against Jugurtha in 109-107 B.C. (cf. Sall. *Jug.*, 43-80).

⁷ Hadrian's reforms are also described in Dio, lxi. 9. They are commemorated by coins with the legend *Disciplina Aug(usti)*; see Cohen, ii², p. 151 f., Nos. 540-549.

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3bat; si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum
 labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum
 retinuit. ordinatis et officiis et impendiis, numquam
 passus aliquem a castris iniuste abesse, cum tribunos
 4 non favor militum sed iustitia commendaret. exemplo
 etiam virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus, cum etiam
 vicena milia pedibus armatus ambularet, triclinia de
 5 castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret, vestem
 humillimam frequenter acciperet, sine auro balteum
 sumeret, sine gemmis fibula stringeret, capulo vix
 6 eburneo spatham clauderet, aegros milites in hospitibus
 suis videret, locum castris caperet, nulli vitem nisi
 robusto et bonae famae daret, nec tribunum nisi plena
 barba faceret aut eius aetatis quae prudentia et annis
 7 tribunatus robor impleret, nec pateretur quicquam tri-
 bunum a milite accipere, delicata omnia undique
 summovertet, arma postremo eorum suppellectilemque
 8 corrigeret. de militum etiam aetatibus iudicabat, ne
 quis aut minor quam virtus posceret, aut maior quam
 pateretur humanitas, in castris contra morem veterem
 versaretur, agebatque, ut sibi semper noti essent, et
 XI. eorum numerus sciretur. laborabat praeterea, ut
 condita militaria diligenter agnosceret, reditus quoque
 provinciales sollerter explorans, ut, si ¹ alicubi quip-
 piam deesset, expleret. ante omnes tamen enite-
 batur, ne quid otiosum vel emeret aliquando vel
 pasceret.

¹ si omitted by P¹, added by P corr.

the time of Octavian had been growing slack through the laxity of his predecessors. He regulated, too, both the duties and the expenses of the soldiers, and now no one could get a leave of absence from camp by unfair means, for it was not popularity with the troops but just deserts that recommended a man for appointment as tribune. He incited others by the example of his own soldiery spirit; he would walk as much as twenty miles fully armed; he cleared the camp of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grottos, and bowers, generally wore the commonest clothing, would have no gold ornaments on his sword-belt or jewels on the clasp, would scarcely consent to have his sword furnished with an ivory hilt, visited the sick soldiers in their quarters, selected the sites for camps, conferred the centurion's wand on those only who were hardy and of good repute, appointed as tribunes only men with full beards or of an age to give to the authority of the tribuneship the full measure of prudence and maturity, permitted no tribune to accept a present from a soldier, banished luxuries on every hand, and, lastly, improved the soldiers' arms and equipment. Furthermore, with regard to length of military service he issued an order that no one should violate ancient usage by being in the service at an earlier age than his strength warranted, or at a more advanced one than common humanity permitted. He made it a point to be acquainted with the soldiers and to know their numbers. XI. Besides this, he strove to have an accurate knowledge of the military stores, and the receipts from the provinces he examined with care in order to make good any deficit that might occur in any particular instance. But more than any other emperor he made it a point not to purchase or maintain anything that was not serviceable.

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- 2 Ergo conversis regio¹ more militibus Britanniam petiit, in qua multa correxerat murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret.
- 3 Septicio Claro praefecto praetorii et Suetonio Tranquillo epistularum magistro multisque aliis, quod apud Sabinam uxorem iniussu eius² familiaris se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit, uxorem etiam ut morosam et asperam dimissurus, ut ipse dicebat, si privatus fuisset.
- 4 et erat curiosus non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret, nec adverterent amici sciri ab imperatore suam vitam, priusquam ipse hoc imperator ostenderet.
- 5 unde non iniucundum est rem inserere, ex qua constet eum de amicis multa didicisse. nam cum ad quendam scripsisset uxor sua, quod voluptatibus

¹ *egregio* Novak; *rigido* Frankfurter; *recto* Baehrens.
² *iniussu eius* P corr. (*uniussu* P¹), defended by Bitschowsky (meaning "without his consent"); *in usu eius* Peter², following Petschenig.

¹ From Germany he visited the provinces of Raetia and Noricum, and then returned to the lower Rhine, where his presence is commemorated in the name Forum Hadriani (near Leyden). From Holland he crossed to Britain. The legend *Adventui Aug. Britanniae* appears on coins; see Cohen, ii², p. 109, No. 28.

² This fortification extended from Wallsend at the mouth of the Tyne to Bowness on the Firth of Solway, a distance of 73½ English miles. Its remains show that it consisted of two lines of embankment with a moat between them, and a stone wall running parallel on the north. In the space between the embankment and the wall were small strongholds about a mile apart with an occasional larger stronghold, all

HADRIAN XI. 2-6

And so, having reformed the army quite in the manner of a monarch, he set out for Britain,¹ and 122. there he corrected many abuses and was the first to construct a wall,² eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

He removed from office Septicius Clarus,³ the prefect of the guard, and Suetonius Tranquillus,⁴ the imperial secretary, and many others besides, because without his consent they had been conducting themselves toward his wife, Sabina, in a more informal fashion than the etiquette of the court demanded. And, as he was himself wont to say, he would have sent away his wife too, on the ground of ill-temper and irritability, had he been merely a private citizen. Moreover, his vigilance was not confined to his own household but extended to those of his friends, and by means of his private agents⁵ he even pried into all their secrets, and so skilfully that they were never aware that the Emperor was acquainted with their private lives until he revealed it himself. In this connection, the insertion of an incident will not be unwelcome, showing that he found out much about his friends. The wife of a certain man wrote to her husband, complaining that he was so preoccupied by

connected by a military road; see inscriptions dating from Hadrian's time, *C.I.L.*, vii. 660 f., 835.

¹ See c. ix. 5.

⁴ The author of the *de Vita Caesarum* and the *de Viris Illustribus*.

⁵ The *frumentarii*, at first petty-officers connected with the commissary of the army, became, probably under Trajan, couriers charged with the conveyance of military dispatches; see *Max.-Balb.*, x. 3; Victor, *Caes.*, xiii. 5, 6. Many of them were then attached to the imperial service as a sort of secret police; see also *Macr.*, xii. 4 and *Claud.*, xvii. 1.

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detentus et lavacris ad se redire nollet, atque hoc Hadrianus per frumentarios cognovisset, petente illo commeatum Hadrianus ei lavacra et voluptates exprobravit. cui ille : “ num et tibi uxor mea, quod et 7 mihi, scripsit ? ” et hoc quidem vitiosissimum putant atque huic adiungunt quae de adulatorum amore ac nuptarum adulteriis, quibus Hadrianus laborasse dicitur, adserunt, iungentes quod ne amicis quidem servaverit fidem.

XII. Compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam Alexandrina seditione turbatus, quae nata est ob Apidem, qui, cum repertus esset post multos annos, turbas inter populos creavit, apud quem 2 deberet locari, omnibus studiose certantibus. per idem tempus in honorem Plotinae basilicam apud 3 Nemausum opere mirabili extruxit. post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu 4 suo aedem Augusti restituit. omnibus Hispanis Tarraconem in conventum vocatis dilectumque

¹ The sacred bullock of the Egyptians, begotten, according to their belief, by a ray of light from heaven (Herodotus, iii. 28). He was recognized by certain markings, including representations of the sun and the moon, and his appearance was the occasion of great rejoicing. It was apparently customary at this period to keep the young Apis, for a time at least, in the locality in which he appeared (Aelian, *Nat. An.*, xi. 10). The riot was checked by a severe letter from Hadrian (Dio, lxix. 8, 1, frag. from Petr. Patr. exc. Vat. 108).

² According to Dio, lxix. 10, 3, the building was erected in

HADRIAN XI. 7—XII. 4

pleasures and baths that he would not return home to her, and Hadrian found this out through his private agents. And so, when the husband asked for a furlough, Hadrian reproached him with his fondness for his baths and his pleasures. Whereupon the man exclaimed: "What, did my wife write you just what she wrote to me?" And, indeed, as for this habit of Hadrian's, men regard it as a most grievous fault, and add to their criticism the statements which are current regarding the passion for males and the adulteries with married women to which he is said to have been addicted, adding also the charge that he did not even keep faith with his friends.

XII. After arranging matters in Britain he crossed over to Gaul, for he was rendered anxious by the news of a riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis; ¹ for Apis had been discovered again after an interval of many years, and was causing great dissension among the communities, each one earnestly asserting its claim as the place best fitted to be the seat of his worship. During this same time he reared a basilica of marvellous workmanship at Nîmes in honour of Plotina.² After this he travelled 122-123. to Spain³ and spent the winter at Tarragona,⁴ and here he restored at his own expense the temple of Augustus. To this place, too, he called all the inhabitants of Spain for a general meeting, and when honour of Plotina after her death, which occurred about this time.

² See the coins with the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Hispaniae*, Cohen, ii², p. 110, Nos. 36-41. His benefactions and public works were commemorated by coins inscribed *Restitutor Hispaniae*, Cohen, ii², p. 211 f., Nos. 1258-1272.

⁴ Made a Roman colony in 45 B.C. and the chief city of Hispania Tarraconensis.

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ioculariter, ut verba ipsa ponit Marius Maximus, retractantibus Italicis, vehementissime ceteris prudenter et¹ caute consuluit. quo quidem tempore non sine gloria gravissimum periculum adiit apud Tarraconem spatians per viridiaria servo in se hospitis cum gladio furiosius inruente. quem retentum ille ministris adcurrentibus tradidit et, ubi furiosum esse constitit, medicis curandum dedit in nullo omnino commotus.

6 Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis saepis funditus iactis atque conexis barbaros separavit.
7 Germanis regem constituit, motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est.

XIII. Post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaïam

¹et omitted by P, added by B³.

¹ Levies from these Italian settlers seem to have been forbidden by Trajan; see *Marc.*, xi. 7.

² Just such a palisade has been found on the German frontier where the rivers Main and Neckar do not constitute a natural boundary; see the *Limesblatt* of the Imperial German *Limeskommission* for 1894, pp. 302, 483 f., and Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, p. 200 f.

³ Although not necessarily in person; see *C.I.L.*, viii. praef. p. xxi.

HADRIAN XII. 5—XIII.

they refused to submit to a levy, the Italian settlers¹ jestingly, to use the very words of Marius Maximus, and the others very vigorously, he took measures characterized by skill and discretion. At this same time he incurred grave danger and won great glory; for while he was walking about in a garden at Tarragona one of the slaves of the household rushed at him madly with a sword. But he merely laid hold on the man, and when the servants ran to the rescue handed him over to them. Afterwards, when it was found that the man was mad, he turned him over to the physicians for treatment, and all this time showed not the slightest sign of alarm.

During this period and on many other occasions also, in many regions where the barbarians are held back not by rivers but by artificial barriers, Hadrian shut them off by means of high stakes planted deep in the ground and fastened together in the manner of a palisade.² He appointed a king for the Germans, suppressed revolts among the Moors,³ and won from the senate the usual ceremonies of thanksgiving. The war with the Parthians had not at that time advanced beyond the preparatory stage, and Hadrian checked it by a personal conference.⁴

XIII. After this Hadrian travelled by way of Asia and the islands to Greece,⁵ and, following the 123-125.

¹ The process of abbreviation has obscured the narrative by omitting the description of Hadrian's journey from Spain to Syria in the spring of 123. This journey was almost certainly made by sea from Spain to Antioch. The danger of the Parthian war seems to have been connected with the overthrow of the Romanized pretender, Parthamaspates (see note to c. v. 4), and the restoration of the legitimate dynasty in the person of Osroes (cf. c. xiii. 8).

² His route lay from the Euphrates across Asia Minor to Ancyra in Galatia (cf. *I.G.R.*, iii. 209) and thence to Bithynia,

HADRIAN

navigavit et Eleusinia sacra exemplo Herculis Philip-
 2 aque suscepit, multa in Athenienses contulit et pro
 agonotheta resedit. et in Achaia quidem etiam illud
 observatum ferunt quod, cum in sacris multi cultros
 haberent, cum Hadriano nullus armatus ingressus
 3 est. post in Siciliam navigavit, in qua Aetnam
 montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus
 4 specie, ut dicitur, varium. inde Romam venit atque
 ex ea in Africam transiit ac multum beneficiorum
 5 provinciis Africanis adtribuit. nec quisquam fere
 principum tantum terrarum tam ¹ celeriter peragravit.
 6 Denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim

¹ *tam* Peter; *tantum* P, Petschenig.

where his arrival is commemorated on coins inscribed *Ad-ventui Aug(usti) Bithyniae* (Cohen, ii², p. 109, Nos. 26 and 27) and *Restitutori Bithyniae* (*id.*, p. 210 f., Nos. 1238-1246). He then travelled through Mysia, founding the town of Hadriano-therae (see c. xx. 13), to Ilion and thence southward to Ephesus. From here he sailed to Rhodes (see an inscription from Ephesus, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², No. 388), northwest through the Aegean to Samothrace and Thrace (see an inscription from Callipolis of 123-124, *C.I.G.*, 2013). Thence he visited the provinces of Moesia and Dacia (see Weber, p. 150 f.), and travelled southward through Macedonia and Thessaly to Athens, where he arrived probably in September, 124.

¹ Father of Alexander the Great.

² Admitted to the lower grade of *μύστρος*. On his second visit to Athens in 128-129 he was initiated into the higher grade, of *ἐπόπρτρος*; see Dio, lxi. 11. An epigram inscribed on the base of a statue erected in honour of the priestess who initiated him is extant (*I.G.*, iii. 900 = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, 864).

³ The Dionysia, in March, 125. Previous to this he had made a journey through the Peloponnesus, visiting the principal cities; dedications to him are recorded in extant inscriptions, and various benefactions of his are mentioned by Pausanias.

HADRIAN XIII. 2-6

example of Hercules and Philip,¹ had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.² He bestowed many favours on the Athenians and sat as president of the public games.³ And during this stay in Greece care was taken, they say, that when Hadrian was present, none should come to a sacrifice armed, whereas, as a rule, many carried knives. Afterwards he sailed to Sicily,⁴ and there he climbed Mount Aetna to see the sunrise, which is many-hued, they say, like the rainbow. Thence he returned to Rome,⁵ and ⁶ from there he crossed over to Africa,⁷ where he 128. showed many acts of kindness to the provinces. Hardly any emperor ever travelled with such speed over so much territory.

Finally, after his return to Rome from Africa, he immediately set out for the East, journeying by

¹ Travelling by way of the Corinthian Gulf, he visited Delphi (cf. *C.I.G.*, 1713), Actium, and Dyrrhachium, and sailed thence to Sicily. His arrival was commemorated by coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Siciliae* (Cohen, ii², p. 112, No. 75), and *Restitutori Siciliae* (*id.*, ii², p. 214, Nos. 1292-1295).

² In the summer of 125. Coins commemorating his return bear the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Italiae* (Cohen, ii², p. 110, Nos. 42-50).

³ Here a period of over three years is omitted, in which Hadrian built many public buildings in the towns of Italy. Early in 128 he finally accepted the title of *Pater Patriae* (cf. note to c. vi. 4); see Eckhel, *D.N.*, vi. 515 f.

⁴ See the coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Africae* and *Restitutori Africae* (Cohen, ii², p. 107 f., Nos. 8-15, and p. 209 f., Nos. 1221-1232), and *Adventui Aug(usti) Mauretaniae* (Cohen, ii², p. 111, Nos. 63-71). His stay in Africa lasted about four months in the spring and early summer of 128. On the Kalends of July was delivered his famous *allocutio* or address to the troops at Lambaesis, fragments of which are now in the Louvre.

HADRIAN

ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit atque opera, quae apud Athenienses coeperat, dedicavit, ut Iovis Olympii aedem et aram sibi, eodemque modo per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. 7 deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. 8 toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Osdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia, quam Traianus ceperat, ac promissa sella, quae 9 itidem capta fuerat. cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit ut eos paeniteret, qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Pharasmanis qui 10 eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit, ita severe ut accusatores per se XIV. crederetur immittere. Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit, ne tot civitatum metropolis Antiochia diceretur.

¹ His stay in Athens was from September 128 to March 129.

² The Olympieion, on the southern edge of the city near the Ilissos. After the dedication of this building in 131-132, Hadrian accepted the title *Ὀλύμπιος* and received divine honours in the temple (Dio, lxix. 16, 1); hence the *ara* mentioned here.

³ They were later called simply "Hadrian's temples," and it was asserted that he had intended to consecrate them to Christ; see *Alex.*, xliii. 6. They were, in fact, temples dedicated to the cult of the emperors, including Hadrian himself, who was worshipped in the cities of Asia Minor as well as in the Olympieion at Athens. In inscriptions he has the cult-name *Olympios* or *Zeus Olympios*.

⁴ The camp of a Cappadocian legion (12th., *Fulminata*) was at Melitene, near the upper Euphrates. Hadrian probably travelled thither from Antioch. His visit to the camp was commemorated by coins inscribed *Exercitus Cappadocicus* (Cohen, ii², p. 153, No. 553).

⁵ More correctly Osrhoes; see also note to c. xii. 8.

⁶ Antoninus Pius refused to keep this promise; see *Pius*, ix. 7.

HADRIAN XIII. 7—XIV.

way of Athens.¹ Here he dedicated the public works which he had begun in the city of the Athenians, such as the temple to Olympian Jupiter² and an altar to himself; and in the same way, while travelling through Asia, he consecrated the temples called by his name.³ Next, he received slaves from the Cappadocians for service in the camps,⁴ To petty rulers and kings he made offers of friendship, and even to Osdroes,⁵ king of the Parthians. To him he also restored his daughter, who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to return the throne captured at the same time.⁶ And when some of the kings came to him, he treated them in such a way that those who had refused to come regretted it. He took this course especially on account of Pharasmanes,⁷ who had haughtily scorned his invitation. Furthermore, as he went about the provinces he punished procurators and governors as their actions demanded, and indeed with such severity that it was believed that he incited those who brought the accusations. XIV. In the course of these travels he conceived such a hatred for the people of Antioch that he wished to separate Syria from Phoenicia, in order that Antioch might not be called the chief city of so many communities.⁸ At this time also the

¹ King of the Hiberi, who inhabited part of the district which is now Trans-Caucasia. On the gifts exchanged by him and Hadrian see c. xvii. 11-12 and xxi. 13.

² The statement that Hadrian hated Antioch seems to be contradicted by the fact that he built many public buildings there; see Malalas, p. 278 B. It may be a deduction from the fact that he did raise three other cities of Syria, Tyre, Damascus and Samosata, to the rank of *μητρόπολις*. The actual division of Syria into two provinces, Syria Coele and Syria Phoenice, took place under Severus in 194. The object of the division was to lessen the power of the governor of so important a province.

HADRIAN

2 moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod
 3 vetabantur mutilare genitalia. sed in monte Casio,
 cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset,
 imbre orto fulmen decidens hostiam et victimarium
 4 sacrificanti adflavit. peragrata Arabia Pelusium
 venit et Pompeii tumulum magnificentius exstruxit.
 5 Antinoum suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit,
 6 quem muliebriter flevit. de quo varia fama est, aliis
 eum devotum pro Hadriano adserentibus, aliis quod
 et forma eius ostentat et nimia voluptas Hadriani.
 7 et Graeci quidem volente Hadriano eum conse-
 craverunt, oracula per eum dari adserentes, quae
 Hadrianus ipse composuisse iactatur.

¹ According to Dio, lxix. 12-14, probably a more correct account, the outbreak of the war was due to the anger of the Jews at the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of Jehovah. This was done in connection with the "founding" of the new colony in 130; accordingly, this sentence is not in chronological order. The war was actually begun after Hadrian's departure from Egypt, and finally necessitated his return. The outbreak was quelled, after much bloodshed, in 134.

² Probably the mountain of this name at the mouth of the river Orontes. This incident is also narrated as having happened to Hadrian at Antioch immediately after he became emperor; see Dio, lxix. 2, 1.

³ See the coins inscribed *Adventui Aug(usti) Arabiae* (Cohen, ii², p. 108 f., Nos. 20-23). He seems to have travelled thither by way of Palmyra and Damascus. His visit to Gerasa (mod. Djerash), in the north-western part of the province of Arabia, is attested by an inscription of 130 (*I.G.R.*, iii. 1847). From here he went probably by way of Philadelphia (mod., 'Ammân) to Jerusalem, which he "founded" as the *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*.

⁴ According to Dio, lxix. 11, 1, Hadrian offered a sacrifice to the *manes* of Pompey and in a line of poetry expressed his sorrow at the meanness of the tomb.

⁵ He also visited Alexandria, and his arrival was commemorated by coins of the city struck in 130; see also the

HADRIAN XIV. 2-7

Jews began war, because they were forbidden to practise circumcision.¹ As he was sacrificing on Mount Casius,² which he had ascended by night in order to see the sunrise, a storm arose, and a flash of lightning descended and struck both the victim and the attendant. He then travelled through Arabia³ 130. and finally came to Pelusium,⁴ where he rebuilt Pompey's tomb on a more magnificent scale.⁵ During a journey on the Nile he lost Antinous,⁶ his favourite, and for this youth he wept like a woman. Concerning this incident there are varying rumours⁷; for some claim that he had devoted himself to death for Hadrian, and others—what both his beauty and Hadrian's sensuality suggest. But however this may be, the Greeks deified him at Hadrian's request, and declared that oracles were given through his agency, but these, it is commonly asserted, were composed by Hadrian himself.⁸

Roman coins with the legend *Adventui Aug(usti) Alexandriae* (Cohen, ii², p. 108, Nos. 15-18).

¹ This beautiful youth was a native of Bithynium in Bithynia; see Dio, lxix. 11. He died near Besa, near the southern end of the Heptanomis. Here Hadrian founded a new city, called Antinoe or Antinoopolis, and consecrated a shrine to him.

² According to Dio, lxix. 11, Hadrian claimed in his autobiography (see note to c. i. 1) that Antinous was drowned in the Nile; he then adds that the true cause of his death was his voluntary sacrifice of himself, apparently in consequence of some prophecy, in order to save the Emperor's life.

³ Here the narrative of Hadrian's journey breaks off abruptly. After a visit to Thebes, where he and Sabina heard "the singing Memnon" (*I.G.R.*, i. 1186 and 1187), he returned to Alexandria, and thence travelled, apparently by ship (*Cat. of Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, *Alex.*, p. 101, No. 871), to Syria and Asia Minor. During a stay at Athens he dedicated the Olympieion (cf. note to c. xiii. 6) in 131-132; see Dio, lxix. 16, 1. He was then called to Judaea on account of the long duration of the Jewish revolt (see note to c. xiv. 2). He finally returned to Rome early in 134.

HADRIAN

8 Fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studio-
 9 sissimus. arithmeticae geometriae picturae peritis-
 10 simus. iam psallendi et cantandi scientiam prae se
 11 ferebat. in voluptatibus nimius; nam et de suis
 dilectis multa versibus composuit. amatoria carmina
 scripsit.¹ idem armorum peritissimus et rei militaris
 scientissimus, gladiatoria quoque arma tractavit. idem
 severus comis, gravis lascivus, cunctator festinans,²
 tenax liberalis, simulator simplex,³ saevus clemens, et
 semper in omnibus varius.

XV. Amicos ditavit et quidem non petentes, cum
 2 petentibus nihil negaret. idem tamen facile de
 amicis, quidquid insusurrabatur, audivit atque ideo
 prope cunctos vel amicissimos vel eos, quos summis
 honoribus evexit, postea ut hostium loco habuit, ut
 3 Attianum et Nepotem et Septicium Clarum. nam
 Eudaemonem prius conscium imperii ad egestatem
 4 perduxit, Polaenum et Marcellum ad mortem volun-
 5 tariam coegit, Heliodorum famosissimis litteris laces-
 6 sivit, Titianum ut conscium tyrannidis et argui passus
 7 est et proscribi, Ummidium Quadratum et Catilium

¹ Probably merely a gloss. ² So Novak, deleting as a gloss for *comis laetus*, which follows *severus* in P, and adding *festinans* to offset *cunctator*; Peter divides: *severus laetus, comis gravis, lascivus cunctator*. ³ *simplex*, omitted in P, is supplied by Peter², following Reimar^{us} ad Dio LXIX, 5, p. 652; *verus* Peter¹, Novak.

¹ But see c. viii. 7, and ix. 4. ² See c. iv. 2, and xxiii. 4.

³ Probably C. Publicius Marcellus, governor of Syria about 132.

⁴ Apparently the philosopher mentioned in c. xvi. 10, and

In poetry and in letters Hadrian was greatly interested. In arithmetic, geometry, and painting he was very expert. Of his knowledge of flute-playing and singing he even boasted openly. He ran to excess in the gratification of his desires, and wrote much verse about the subjects of his passion. He composed love-poems too. He was also a connoisseur of arms, had a thorough knowledge of warfare, and knew how to use gladiatorial weapons. He was, in the same person, austere and genial, dignified and playful, dilatory and quick to act, niggardly and generous, deceitful and straightforward, cruel and merciful, and always in all things changeable.

XV. His friends he enriched greatly, even though they did not ask it, while to those who did ask, he refused nothing. And yet he was always ready to listen to whispers about his friends, and in the end he treated almost all of them as enemies, even the closest and even those whom he had raised to the highest of honours, such as Attianus¹ and Nepos² and Septicius Clarus. Eudaemon, for example, who had been his accomplice in obtaining the imperial power, he reduced to poverty; Polaenus and Marcellus³ he drove to suicide; Heliodorus⁴ he assailed in a most slanderous pamphlet; Titianus⁵ he allowed to be accused as an accomplice in an attempt to seize the empire and even to be outlawed; Ummidius Quadratus,⁶ Catilius Severus, and Turbo he persecuted

probably to be identified with Avidius Heliodorus, the father of Avidius Cassius; see *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

¹ Probably either T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, consul in 127, or Atilius Titianus, who was accused *affectati imperii* under Pius and condemned; see *Pius*, vii. 3.

² Mentioned as *a iuvenis egregiae indolis* by Pliny the younger (*Epist.*, vi. 11; vii. 24). He was consul with Hadrian in 118.

HADRIAN

8 Severum et Turbonem graviter insecutus est, Ser-
vianum sororis virum nonagesimum iam annum
9 agentem, ne sibi superviveret, mori coegit; liberos
10 denique et nonnullos milites insecutus est. et
quamvis esset oratione et versu promptissimus et in
omnibus artibus peritissimus, tamen professores
omnium artium semper ut doctior risit contempsit
11 obtrivit. cum his ipsis professoribus et philosophis
libris vel carminibus invicem editis saepe certavit.
12 et Favorinus quidem, cum verbum eius quondam ab
Hadriano reprehensum esset, atque ille cessisset,
arguentibus amicis, quod male cederet Hadriano de
verbo quod idonei auctores usurpassent, risum
13 iucundissimum movit. ait enim: "Non recte
suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum
doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta
legiones".

XVI. Famae celebris Hadrianus tam cupidus fuit
ut libros vitae suae scriptos a se libertis suis litteratis
dederit, iubens ut eos suis nominibus publicarent,
nam et Phlegontis libri Hadriani esse dicuntur.
2 Catachannas libros obscurissimos Antimachum imi-
3 tando scripsit. Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

¹ A well-known rhetorician, a native of Arelate (Arles) in Gaul. He was a friend of Plutarch and of Aulus Gellius, whose *Noctes Atticae* are full of allusions to him.

² On the autobiography see note to c. i. 1. The ruse described in this passage was not successful, for the true authorship of the autobiography was known to the writer of the present biography (see c. i. 1; iii. 3 and 5; vii. 2), and also to Cassius Dio (lxix. 11, 2).

³ Antimachus of Colophon about 400 B.C.; the author of

vigorously; and in order to prevent Servianus, his brother-in-law, from surviving him, he compelled him to commit suicide, although the man was then in his ninetieth year. And he even took vengeance on freedmen and sometimes on soldiers. And although he was very deft at prose and at verse and very accomplished in all the arts, yet he used to subject the teachers of these arts, as though more learned than they, to ridicule, scorn, and humiliation. With these very professors and philosophers he often debated by means of pamphlets or poems issued by both sides in turn. And once Favorinus,¹ when he had yielded to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, raised a merry laugh among his friends. For when they reproached him for having done wrong in yielding to Hadrian in the matter of a word used by reputable authors, he replied: "You are urging a wrong course, my friends, when you do not suffer me to regard as the most learned of men the one who has thirty legions".

XVI. So desirous of a wide-spread reputation was Hadrian that he even wrote his own biography; this he gave to his educated freedmen, with instructions to publish it under their own names.² For indeed, Phlegon's writings, it is said, are Hadrian's in reality. He wrote *Catachannae*, a very obscure work in imitation of Antimachus.³ And when the poet Florus⁴ wrote to him:

an epic, the *Thebais*, and of an elegiac poem, on the death of his wife Lyde. In general, his style was considered obscure, and his poems were full of learned allusions. According to Dio, lxi. 4, Hadrian preferred him to Homer. Nothing is known of the *Catachannae*.

* Probably the poet Annius Florus, some of whose verse is preserved in the Codex Salmasianus, a collection of miscellaneous poetical selections; see Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, i., Nos. 87 and 245-252.

HADRIAN

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
ambulare per Britannos,
latitare per . . .¹
Scythicas pati pruinas,

4 rescripsit :

Ego nolo Florus esse,
ambulare per tabernas,
latitare per popinas,
culices pati rotundos.

5 amavit praeterea genus vetustum dicendi. contro-
6 versias declamavit. Ciceroni Catonem, Vergilio
Ennium, Sallustio Caelium praetulit eademque iacta-
7 tione de Homero ac Platone iudicavit. mathesin sic
scire sibi visus est ut vero² kalendis Ianuariis scrip-
serit, quid ei toto anno posset evenire, ita ut eo anno
quo periit usque ad illam horam qua est mortuus
scripserit quid acturus esset.

8 Sed quamvis esset in reprehendendis musicis
tragicis comicis grammaticis rhetoribus facilis, tamen
omnes professores et honoravit et divites fecit, licet
9 eos quaestionibus semper agitaverit. et cum ipse
auctor esset, ut multi ab eo tristes recederent,
dicebat se graviter ferre, si quem tristem videret.
10 in summa familiaritate Epictetum et Heliodorum
philosophos et, ne nominatim de omnibus dicam,
grammaticos rhetores musicos geometras pictores
astrologos habuit, prae ceteris, ut multi adserunt,

¹ Omitted in P, but to be supplied from § 4 (where Spengel would delete *latitare per popinas*, Abh. d. bayer. Akad. hist. phil. Kl. IX, p. 317). ² *uero* Meursius; *sero* P.

¹ L. Caelius Antipater, an historian living in the second century B.C., who wrote a history of the Second Punic War.

² According to *Ael.*, iii. 9, this statement is made on the authority of Marius Maximus.

HADRIAN XVI. 4-10

"I don't want to be a Cæsar,
Stroll about among the Britons,
Lurk about among the . . .
And endure the Seythian winters,"

he wrote back

"I don't want to be a Florus,
Stroll about among the taverns,
Lurk about among the cook-shops,
And endure the round fat insects."

Furthermore, he loved the archaic style of writing, and he used to take part in debates. He preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Vergil, Caelius¹ to Salust; and with the same self-assurance he expressed opinions about Homer and Plato. In astrology he considered himself so proficient that on the Kalends of January he would actually write down all that might happen to him in the whole ensuing year, and in the year in which he died, indeed, he wrote down everything that he was going to do, down to the very hour of his death.²

However ready Hadrian might have been to criticize musicians, tragedians, comedians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he nevertheless bestowed both honours and riches upon all who professed these arts, though he always tormented them with his questions. And although he was himself responsible for the fact that many of them left his presence with their feelings hurt, to see anyone with hurt feelings, he used to say, he could hardly endure. He treated with the greatest friendship the philosophers Epicetetus³ and Heliodorus, and various grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians—not to mention all byname—painters and astrologers; and among

³ The well-known Stoic philosopher.

HADRIAN

11 eminente Favorino. doctores, qui professioni suae
inhabiles videbantur, ditatos honoratosque a profes-
sione dimisit.

XVII. Quos in privata vita inimicos habuit, imper-
ator tantum neglexit, ita ut uni, quem capitalema ha-
2 buerat, factus imperator diceret "Evasisti". iis quos
ad militiam ipse per se vocavit equos mulos vestes
3 sumptus et omnem ornatum semper exhibuit. satur-
nalia et sigillaria frequenter amicis inopinantibus
misit et ipse ab his libenter accepit et alia invicem
4 dedit. ad deprehendendas obsonatorum fraudes,
cum plurimis sigmatibus pasceret, fercula de aliis
5 mensis etiam ultimis sibi iussit adponi.¹ omnes
reges muneribus suis vicit. publice frequenter et
6 cum omnibus lavit. ex quo ille iocus balnearis in-
notuit: nam cum quodam tempore veteranorum
quendam notum sibi in militia dorsum et ceteram
partem corporis vidisset adterere parieti,² percontatus,
cur se marmoribus destringendum daret, ubi audit
hoc idcirco fieri quod servum non haberet, et servis
7 eum donavit et sumptibus. verum alia die cum plures
senes ad provocandam liberalitatem principis parieti
se adtererent, evocari eos iussit et alium ab alio
8 invicem defricari. fuit et plebis iactantissimus
amator. peregrinationis ita cupidus ut omnia quae
legerat de locis orbis terrarum praesens vellet addis-

¹ *sibi iussit adponi* Mommsen; *quibusque* (quid P*) *adponi*
P¹; *quibusque iussit adponi* P corr.; *quibusque adponit* Peter.

² *parieti* inserted here by Kellerbauer and accepted by Peter²;
omitted in P.

¹ The name Sigillaria was given to the last days of the
Saturnalia, in which it was customary to send as gifts little
figures (*sigilla*) of pottery or pastry.

them Favorinus, many claim, was conspicuous above all the rest. Teachers who seemed unfit for their profession he presented with riches and honours and then dismissed from the practice of their profession.

XVII. Many whom he had regarded as enemies when a private citizen, when emperor he merely ignored; for example, on becoming emperor, he said to one man whom he had regarded as a mortal foe, "You have escaped". When he himself called any to military service, he always supplied them with horses, mules, clothing, cost of maintenance, and indeed their whole equipment. At the Saturnalia and Sigillaria¹ he often surprised his friends with presents, and he gladly received gifts from them and again gave others in return. In order to detect dishonesty in his caterers, when he gave banquets with several tables he gave orders that platters from the other tables, even the lowest, should be set before himself. He surpassed all monarchs in his gifts. He often bathed in the public baths, even with the common crowd. And a jest of his made in the bath became famous. For on a certain occasion, seeing a veteran, whom he had known in the service, rubbing his back and the rest of his body against the wall, he asked him why he had the marble rub him, and when the man replied that it was because he did not own a slave, he presented him with some slaves and the cost of their maintenance. But another time, when he saw a number of old men rubbing themselves against the wall for the purpose of arousing the generosity of the Emperor, he ordered them to be called out and then to rub one another in turn. His love for the common people he loudly expressed. So fond was he of travel, that he wished to inform himself in

HADRIAN

9 cere. frigora et tempestates ita patienter tulit ut
10 numquam caput tegetet.¹ regibus multis plurimum
detulit, a plerisque vero etiam pacem redemit, a
11 nonnullis contemptus est; multis ingentia dedit
munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et
elephantum et quinquagenariam cohortem post
12 magnifica dedit dona. cum a Pharasmane ipse quo-
que ingentia dona² accepisset atque inter haec
auratas quoque chlamydes, trecentos noxios cum
auratis chlamydibus in arenam misit ad eius munera
deridenda.

XVIII. Cum iudicaret, in consilio habuit non amicos
suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et prae-
cipue Iuventium³ Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Nera-
tium Priscum aliosque, quos tamen senatus omnis
2 probasset. constituit inter cetera, ut in nulla civitate
domus aliqua⁴ transferendae ad aliam urbem ullius⁵
3 materiae causa dirueretur. liberis proscriptorum

¹ tegetet Exc. Ous. and P corr.; *texeret* P¹; *texerit* Peter.
² *ingentia munia dona* P; *munia* deleted by Petrarch;
munia dono Peter. ³ *Iuventium* Cas.; *iulium* P. ⁴ *ali-*
qua . . . dirueretur Petschenig; *alique . . . dirueretur* P¹;
diruerentur P corr. ⁵ *ullius* P corr. (so Peter, but conj.
illius); *ullis* P¹; *utilis* Cornelissen; *uilis* Mommsen.

¹ Especially in connection with his conference with the
minor potentates of the Orient; see c. xiii. 8.

² Pharasmanes; see also c. xiii. 9 and note.

³ See c. viii. 9 and note.

⁴ His *Digesta* in thirty-nine books were used in the com-
pilation of the *Digest* of Justinian.

⁵ Famous as the compiler of the *Edictum Perpetuum*, a
systematized collection of praetors' *edicta*, or statements of

HADRIAN XVII. 9—XVIII. 3

person about all that he had read concerning all parts of the world. Cold and bad weather he could bear with such endurance that he never covered his head. He showed a multitude of favours to many kings,¹ but from a number he even purchased peace, and by some he was treated with scorn; to many he gave huge gifts, but none greater than to the king of the Hiberi,² for to him he gave an elephant and a band of fifty men, in addition to magnificent presents. And having himself received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, including some cloaks embroidered with gold, he sent into the arena three hundred condemned criminals dressed in gold-embroidered cloaks for the purpose of ridiculing the gifts of the king.

XVIII. When he tried cases, he had in his council³ not only his friends and the members of his staff, but also jurists, in particular Juventius Celsus,⁴ Salvius Julianus,⁵ Neratius Priscus,⁶ and others, only those, however, whom the senate had unanimously approved. Among other decisions he ruled that in no community should any house be demolished for the purpose of transporting any building-materials to another city.⁷ To the child of an outlawed person he granted

the principles to be used in administering justice; see Eutrop., viii. 17, and *Codex Just.*, vi. 61, 5. His *Digesta* in ninety books are cited in Justinian's *Digest*. See also *Sev.*, xvii. 5.

¹ See note to c. iv. 8.

⁷ This prohibition is an application of the general principle laid down in a *senatus consultum* of 44 (Bruns⁶, No. 51), that no building in Italy shall be demolished with a view to making profit out of the demolition. The destruction of buildings for any purpose except their immediate reconstruction, unless permission has been given by the *curia*, is prohibited in the various laws of the *coloniae* and *municipia*; see *Lex Col. Genetivae*, c. 75, *Lex Mun. Malac.*, c. 62, and *Lex Mun. Tarent.*, c. 4.

HADRIAN

4 duodecimas bonorum concessit. maiestatis crimina
5 non admisit. ignotorum hereditates repudiavit nec
6 notorum accepit, si filios haberent. de thesauris ita
cavit ut, si ¹ quis in suo repperisset, ipse potiretur,
si quis in alieno, dimidium domino daret, si quis in
7 publico, cum fisco aequabiliter partiretur. servos a
dominis occidi vetuit eosque iussit damnari per
8 iudices, si digni essent. lenoni et lanistae servum
9 vel ancillam vendi vetuit causa non praestita. de-
coctores bonorum suorum, si suae auctoritatis essent,
catomidiari in amphitheatro et dimitti iussit. ergastula
10 servorum et liberorum tulit. lavacra pro sexibus
11 separavit. si dominus in domo interemptus esset,
non de omnibus servis quaestionem haberi sed de iis
qui per vicinitatem poterant sentire praecepit.

XIX. In Etruria praeturam imperator egit. per

¹ si lacking in P¹, added by P corr.

¹ It was a principle of Roman law that the property of those executed or exiled should be confiscated; see *Digest.*, xlviii. 20, 1 pr. It had become customary, however, to allow to the children a certain proportion. In the first century this often amounted to a half (see Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 17; xiii. 43); in the time of Theodosius I, the law established this amount, except only in cases of treason, in which the children were to receive one sixth; see *Cod. Theod.*, ix. 42, 8 and 24 = *Cod. Iust.*, ix. 49, 8 and 10. The amount prescribed by Hadrian must be regarded as a minimum.

² Originally the principle seems to have been that the finder of treasure became the owner; so Hor., *Sat.*, ii. 6, 10 f.

HADRIAN XVIII. 4—XIX.

a twelfth of the property.¹ Accusations for *lèse majesté* he did not admit. Legacies from persons unknown to him he refused, and even those left to him by acquaintances he would not accept if they had any children. In regard to treasure-trove, he ruled that if anyone made a find on his own property he might keep it, if on another's land, he should turn over half to the proprietor thereof, if on the state's, he should share the find equally with the privy-purse.² He forbade masters to kill their slaves, and ordered that any who deserved it should be sentenced by the courts. He forbade anyone to sell a slave or a maid-servant to a procurer or trainer of gladiators without giving a reason therefor. He ordered that those who had wasted their property, if legally responsible, should be flogged in the amphitheatre and then let go. Houses of hard labour for slaves and free he abolished. He provided separate baths for the sexes. He issued an order that, if a slave-owner were murdered in his house, no slaves should be examined save those who were near enough to have had knowledge of the murder.³

XIX. In Etruria he held a praetorship ⁴ while em-

Hadrian's modification was adopted by Marcus and Verus (Just., *Digest.*, xlix. 14, 3, 10), and by Severus Alexander (*Alex.*, xlv. 2), and was finally incorporated in Justinian's *Institutes* (ii. 1, 39).

³ A *senatus consultum Silanianum* of A.D. 10 had ordained that on the murder of a slave-owner by a slave, all the slaves present in the house should be examined by torture; see Just., *Digest.*, xxix. 5. This was extended by a *senatus consultum* of 57 to include all freedmen present in the house; see Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32. For an instance of such a murder see Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 42-45.

⁴ He held the honorary post of chief magistrate of various towns. *Praetor* was the original title of this magistrate (the Roman consuls also were originally called *praetores*), and many towns retained the old name.

HADRIAN

Latina oppida dictator et aedilis et duumvir fuit, ap
Neapolim demarchus, in patria sua quinquennalis
item Hadriae quinquennalis, quasi in alia patria,
Athenis archon fuit.

2 In omnibus paene urbibus et aliquid aedificavit
3 ludos edidit. Athenis mille ferarum venationem
4 stadio exhibuit. ab urbe Roma numquam ulli
5 venatorem aut scaenicum advocavit. Romae po
ceteras immensissimas voluptates in honorem soci
suae aromatica populo donavit, in honorem Traian
balsama et crocum per gradus theatri fluere iussit
6 fabulas omnis generis more antiquo in theatro ded
7 histriones aulicos publicavit. in Circo multas fer
8 et saepe centum leones interfecit. militares pyrrici
populo frequenter exhibuit. gladiatores frequen
9 spectavit. cum opera ubique infinita fecisset, nu
quam ipse nisi in Traiani patris templo nomen suu
10 scripsit. Romae instauravit Pantheum, Saepta, Bas

¹ The *Duoviri iure dicundo* were the chief magistrates of the colony, analogous to the consuls at Rome, and gradually most of the municipalities adopted this form of government. It was customary for the emperors to hold this magistracy as a compliment to the town.

² Naples, which was a Greek city, retained the original title of its chief magistrate, *δημαρχος*; see Strabo, v. p. 4 and many inscriptions extending down to the fourth century.

³ Italica in Hispania Baetica; see c. i. 1.

⁴ In 112, before he became emperor; see the inscription from Athens, *C.I.L.*, iii. 550 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 308.

⁵ See c. ix. 9 and note.

⁶ Originally a war-dance, but sometimes used in pantomimes (cf. Suet., *Nero*, xii. 2).

⁷ See note to c. vii. 6.

⁸ Originally built by Agrippa in 27 B.C. The present building bears the inscription of Agrippa, *M. Agrippa L. f. con(t)er(tium) fecit*, but an examination of the bricks used in

HADRIAN XIX. 2-10

peror. In the Latin towns he was dictator and aedile and duumvir,¹ in Naples demarch,² in his native city³ duumvir with the powers of censor. This office he held at Hadria, too, his second native city, as it were, and at Athens he was archon.⁴

In almost every city he built some building and gave public games. At Athens he exhibited in the stadium a hunt of a thousand wild beasts, but he never called away from Rome a single wild-beast-hunter or actor. In Rome, in addition to popular entertainments of unbounded extravagance, he gave spices to the people in honour of his mother-in-law,⁵ and in honour of Trajan he caused essences of balsam and saffron to be poured over the seats of the theatre. And in the theatre he presented plays of all kinds in the ancient manner and had the court-players appear before the public. In the Circus he had many wild beasts killed and often a whole hundred of lions. He often gave the people exhibitions of military Pyrrhic dances,⁶ and he frequently attended gladiatorial shows. He built public buildings in all places and without number, but he inscribed his own name on none of them except the temple of his father Trajan.⁷ At Rome he restored the Pantheon,⁸ the Voting-enclosure,⁹ the Basilica of Neptune,¹⁰ very construction has revealed the fact that it is wholly the work of Hadrian.

¹ In the Campus Martius, where the centuries gathered for voting. The building was begun by Julius Caesar but finished by Agrippa and called *Saepta Julia* in 27 B.C. (Dio, liii. 23). It was burned under Titus (Dio, lxvi. 24) but rebuilt under Domitian.

¹⁰ North of the *Saepta*. Built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. to commemorate the victories over Sextus Pompeius and Antony (Dio, liii. 27) and burned under Titus. The north wall of Hadrian's building and eleven columns are extant, and form part of the façade of the modern stock-exchange.

HADRIAN

icam Neptuni, sacras aedes plurimas, Forum Augusti, Lavacrum Agrippae; eaque omnia propriis auctorum¹ nominibus consecravit. fecit et sui nominis pontem et sepulchrum iuxta Tiberim et aedem Bonae Deae. transtulit et Colossum stantem atque suspensum per Decrianum architectum de eo loco in quo nunc Templum Urbis est, ingenti molimine, ita ut operi etiam elephantos viginti quattuor exhiberet. et cum hoc simulacrum post Neronis vultum, cui antea dicatum fuerat, Soli consecrasset, aliud tale Apollodoro architecto auctore facere Lunae molitus est.

XX. In conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit, detestans eos qui sibi hanc voluptatem humanitatis quasi servantes² fastigium principis inviderent. apud Alexandriam in Museo multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit. Marius Maximus dicit eum natura crudelem fuisse

¹ auctorum Peter, from Suet. Domit. 5; ueterum P. ² servantes Roos, Mn. 41, p. 144; servantis P.

¹ North-west of the Forum Romanum, and containing the temple of Mars Ultor.

² Immediately south of the Pantheon, built by Agrippa in 25 B.C. (Dio, liii. 27). These baths were burned under Titus but rebuilt under Domitian (Martial, iii. 20 and 36).

³ The *Mausoleum Hadriani*, on the right bank of the Tiber, now the Castel S. Angelo. The bridge named after him *Pons Aelius* led to it. The Mausoleum was finally completed by Antoninus Pius in 139; see Pius, viii. 2, and *C.I.L.*, vi. 984 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 322.

⁴ The *Aedes Bonae Deae Subsaxanae* was on the slope of the eastern peak of the Aventine Hill (the Remuria or Saxum); for its legend see Ovid, *Fast.*, v. 155.

many temples, the Forum of Augustus,¹ the Baths of Agrippa,² and dedicated all of them in the names of their original builders. Also he constructed the bridge named after himself, a tomb on the bank of the Tiber,³ and the temple of the Bona Dea.⁴ With the aid of the architect Decrianus he raised the Colossus⁵ and, keeping it in an upright position, moved it away from the place in which the Temple of Rome⁶ is now, though its weight was so vast that he had to furnish for the work as many as twenty-four elephants. This statue he then consecrated to the Sun, after removing the features of Nero, to whom it had previously been dedicated, and he also planned, with the assistance of the architect Apollodorus, to make a similar one for the Moon.

XX. Most democratic in his conversations, even with the very humble, he denounced all who, in the belief that they were thereby maintaining the imperial dignity, begrudged him the pleasure of such friendliness. In the Museum at Alexandria⁷ he propounded many questions to the teachers and answered himself what he had propounded. Marius Maximus says that

¹ A colossal statue of Nero which stood in the vestibule of Nero's Golden House; see Suet., *Nero*, xxxi. 1. According to Suetonius it was 120 feet high, according to Pliny (*N.H.*, xxxiv. 45) 106½ feet. The statue was moved by Hadrian to a place immediately north-west of the Colosseum, where a portion of its base is still preserved.

² The Temple of Venus and Rome, built by Hadrian in 135 from a plan made by himself; see Dio, lxi. 4. It stood on the Velia at the highest point of the Sacra Via on a part of the site of Nero's Golden House. The western portion is built into the church of S. Francesca Romana, the eastern portion is partly extant.

³ An academy founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus in imitation of the schools of Plato and Aristotle at Athens.

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et ideirco multa pie fecisse quod timeret, ne sibi idem quod Domitiano accidit eveniret.

- 4 Et cum titulos in operibus non amaret, multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem. aquarum ductus etiam infinitos hoc nomine nuncupavit. fisci advocatum primus instituit.
- 7 Fuit memoriae ingentis, facultatis immensae; nam ipse et orationes dictavit et ad omnia respondit. 8 ioca eius plurima exstant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus. unde illud quoque innotuit quod, cum cuidam canescenti quiddam negasset, eidem iterum petenti sed infecto capite respondit: "Iam hoc patri tuo negavi". 9 nomina plurimis sine nomenclatore reddidit, quae semel et congesta simul audiverat, ut nomenclatores 10 saepius errantes emendarit. dixit et veteranorum nomina, quos aliquando dimiserat. libros statim¹ lectos et ignotos quidem plurimis memoriter reddidit. 11 uno tempore scripsit dictavit audivit et cum amicis fabulatus est, si potest credi,² omnes publicas rationes ita complexus est ut domum privatam quivis 12 paterfamilias diligens non satis novit.³ equos et canes

¹ So P; *strictim* Peter²; *raptim* Novak. ² *si potest* (*potes* P¹) *credi* removed by the edd., so Haupt, Opusc. III. p. 421, but Vahlen (ind. lect. Ber. hib. 1880/1, p. 18) would retain, joining to the following. ³ *non satis novit* P, which Haupt would remove (loc. cit.); *non setius norit* Mommsen, Peter².

¹ Domitian was assassinated by some palace-attendants.

² This portion of the city lay east of the Acropolis, between the old wall of Themistocles and the Ilissus. A gate in the old wall was replaced by a new one, bearing on its two sides respectively the lines:—

Αἰὼς εἰς Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἢ πρὶν πόλιν.

Αἰὼς εἰς Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θησέως πόλιν.

(I.G., iii. 401).

HADRIAN XX. 4-12

is naturally cruel and performed so many kindnesses only because he feared that he might meet the fate which had befallen Domitian.¹

Though he cared nothing for inscriptions on his public works, he gave the name of Hadrianopolis to many cities, as, for example, even to Carthage and a colony of Athens;² and he also gave his name to provinces without number. He was the first to appoint a pleader for the privy-purse.³

Hadrian's memory was vast and his ability was undiminished; for instance, he personally dictated his edicts and gave opinions on all questions. He was also very witty, and of his jests many still survive.

The following one has even become famous: when he had refused a request to a certain gray-haired man, and the man repeated the request but some time with dyed hair, Hadrian replied: "I have already refused this to your father". Even without the aid of a nomenclator he could call by name a great many people, whose names he had heard but once, and then all in a crowd; indeed, he could correct the nomenclators when they made mistakes, which they not infrequently did, and he even knew the names of the veterans whom he had discharged at various times. He could repeat from memory, after a long reading, books which to most men were not accessible at all. He wrote, dictated, listened, and, as it seems, conversed with his friends, all the while and the same time. He had as complete a knowledge of the state-budget in all its details as

the *advocatus fisci* represented the interests of the privy in law-suits in which it became involved. The office was held by knights and constituted the first step in the *Hadrian cursus honorum*.

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¹³ sic amavit ut iis sepulchra constitueret. oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

XXI. De iudicibus omnibus semper cuncta scrutando tamdiu requisivit quamdiu verum inveniret.
² libertos suos nec sciri voluit in publico nec aliquid apud se posse, dicto suo omnibus superioribus principibus vitia imputans libertorum, damnatis omnibus
³ libertis suis, quicumque se de eo iactaverant. unde exstat etiam illud severum ¹ quidem sed prope ioculari de servis. nam cum quodam tempore servum suum inter duos senatores e conspectu ambulare vidisset, misit qui ei colaphum daret diceretque ²: "Noli inter
⁴ eos ambulare quorum esse adhuc potes servus". inter cibos unice amavit tetrastachmion, quod erat de phasianio summe perna et crustulo.

⁵ Fuerunt eius temporibus fames pestilentia terrae motus, quae omnia, quantum potuit, procuravit multisque civitatibus vastatis per ista subvenit. fuit etiam
⁷ Tiberis inundatio. Latium multis civitatibus dedit, tributa multis remisit.

¹ *seuerum* Petschenig; *seuero* P; *seuere* P corr.; *seue* B³, whence Peter *saue*. ² so Mommsen; *colaphum daret et diceret* P corr. (from P¹ *colla fundat et qui*); *qui et collaphum daret*; cui "Noli," etc. Bitschowsky.

¹ Especially for his favourite hunting-horse Borysthenes, which died at Apte in Gallia Narbonensis; in its honour he erected a tomb with a stele and an inscription; see Dio, lxi. 10. The inscription is preserved, *C.I.L.*, xii. 1122 = Bücheler, *Carm. Epigr.*, ii. 1522.

² In Bithynia.

³ Also called pentastachmion; see *Ael.*, v. 4 f. It was also a favourite dish of Severus Alexander's; see *Alex.*, xxx. 6.

any careful householder has of his own household. His horses and dogs he loved so much that he provided burial-places for them,¹ and in one locality he founded a town called Hadrianotherae,² because once he had hunted successfully there and killed a bear.

XXI. He always inquired into the actions of all his judges, and persisted in his inquiries until he satisfied himself of the truth about them. He would not allow his freedmen to be prominent in public affairs or to have any influence over himself, and he declared that all his predecessors were to blame for the faults of their freedmen; he also punished all his freedmen who boasted of their influence over him. With regard to his treatment of his slaves, the following incident, stern but almost humorous, is still related. Once when he saw one of his slaves walk away from his presence between two senators, he sent someone to give him a box on the ear and say to him: "Do not walk between those whose slave you may some day be". As an article of food he was singularly fond of *tetrapharmacum*,³ which consisted of pheasant, sow's udders, ham, and pastry.

During his reign there were famines, pestilence, and earthquakes. The distress caused by all these calamities he relieved to the best of his ability, and also he aided many communities which had been devastated by them. There was also an overflow of the Tiber. To many communities he gave Latin citizenship,⁴ and to many others he remitted their tribute.

⁴ The *ius Latium* was a peculiar status, granted originally to certain of the cities of Latium. It conferred on their inhabitants certain private rights of a Roman citizen, especially those of holding property and trading at Rome and of intermarriage with Romans. In the time of the Empire the

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8 Expeditiones sub eo graves nullae fuerunt; bella
 9 etiam silentio paene transacta. a militibus propter
 curam exercitus nimiam¹ multum amatus est, simul
 10 quod in eos liberalissimus fuit. Parthos in amicitia
 semper habuit, quod inde regem retraxit, quem
 11 Traianus imposuerat. Armeniis regem habere per-
 12 misit, cum sub Traiano legatum habuissent. a Meso-
 potamiis² non exegit tributum, quod Traianus im-
 13 posuit. Albanos et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod
 reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad
 14 illum venire contempsissent. reges Bactrianorum
 legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices
 miserunt.

XXII. Tutores saepissime dedit. disciplinam civi-
 2 lem non aliter tenuit quam militarem. senatores et
 equites Romanos semper in publico togatos esse iussit,
 3 nisi si a cena reverterentur. ipse, cum in Italia esset,
 4 semper togatus processit. ad convivium venientes
 senatores stans excepit semperque aut pallio tectus
 5 discubuit aut toga. summa diligentia in dies³ sumptus
 convivii constituit et ad antiquum modum redegit.
 6 vehicula cum ingentibus sarcinis urbem ingredi pro-
 7 hibuit. sederi equos in civitatibus non sivit. ante
 octavam horam in publico neminem nisi aegrum lavari

¹ *nimiam* P corr., Novak; *nimiae* P¹; *nimie* Peter². ² *a Mesopotamiis* Novak after P corr. omitting *a*; *Mesopotamensis* P¹, Peter. ³ *toga. summa diligentia in dies* Mommsen; *toga summissa diligentia iudices* P; *iudicis* Peter.

possession of this status meant chiefly local autonomy and the bestowal of Roman citizenship on local magistrates.

¹ Except the war in Judaea; see c. xiv. 2 and note.

There were no campaigns of importance during his reign,¹ and the wars that he did wage were brought to a close almost without arousing comment. The soldiers loved him much on account of his very great interest in the army² and for his great liberality to them besides. The Parthians always regarded him as a friend because he took away the king³ whom Trajan had set over them. The Armenians were permitted to have their own king,⁴ whereas under Trajan they had had a governor, and the Mesopotamians were relieved of the tribute which Trajan had imposed. The Albanians⁵ and Hiberians he made his friends by lavishing gifts upon their kings, even though they had scorned to come to him. The kings of the Bactrians sent envoys to him to beg humbly for his friendship.

XXII. He very often assigned guardians. Discipline in civil life he maintained as rigorously as he did in military. He ordered senators and knights to wear the toga whenever they appeared in public except when they were returning from a banquet, and he himself, when in Italy, always appeared thus clad. At banquets, when senators came, he received them standing, and he always reclined at table dressed either in a Greek cloak or in a toga. The cost of a banquet he limited according to the nature of the occasion, all with the utmost care, and he reduced the sums that might be expended to the amounts

¹ See c. x.

² i.e. Parthamaspatēs; see c. v. 4 and note.

³ i.e. he relinquished their country together with the other conquests of Trajan east of the Euphrates; see c. v. 1 and 3 and notes.

⁵ The eastern part of Trans-Caucasia, east of the Hiberi (for whom see c. xvii. 11).

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8 passus est. ab epistulis et a libellis primus equites
 9 Romanos habuit. eos quos pauperes et innocentes
 vidit sponte ditavit, quos vero calliditate ditatos,
 10 etiam odio habuit. sacra Romana diligentissime
 curavit, peregrina contempsit. pontificis maximi
 11 officium peregit. causas Romae atque in provinciis
 frequenter audivit, adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus
 12 atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus. Fucinum
 13 lacum emisit. quattuor consulares per omnem Italiam
 14 iudices constituit. quando in Africam venit, ad ad-
 ventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab
 Africanis dilectus est.

XXIII. Peragratis sane omnibus orbis partibus
 capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque
 2 frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. factusque de
 successore sollicitus primum de Serviano cogitavit,

¹ Beginning with the *Lex Orchia* of 181 B.C. the Roman republic tried by a succession of sumptuary laws to restore the constantly increasing cost of banquets. The *Lex Fannia* of 161 B.C. fixed a maximum of 100 *asses* for the great holidays, of 10 *asses* for ordinary days; the latter sum was later increased to 30 *asses*. The *Lex Cornelia* of Sulla allowed three hundred sesterces for holidays and thirty for other days; this latter was increased by a law of Augustus to two hundred sesterces; see Gellius, ii. 24 and Macrobius, *Sat.*, iii. 17. Which sum is meant here is unfortunately not clear.

² One of the most important of Hadrian's reforms. The great court-offices had previously been held chiefly by freedmen of the emperor as private posts in his household. Hadrian, in providing that they should be held by knights,

HADRIAN XXII. 8—XXIII. 2

ribed by the ancient laws.¹ He forbade the
into Rome of heavily laden waggons, and did
ermit riding on horseback in cities. None but
ds were allowed to bathe in the public baths
e the eighth hour of the day. He was the first
t knights in charge of the imperial correspond-
and of the petitions addressed to the emperor.²
e men whom he saw to be poor and innocent he
hed of his own accord, but those who had become
through sharp practice he actually regarded
hatred. He despised foreign cults, but native
in ones he observed most scrupulously; more-
he always performed the duties of pontifex
mus. He tried a great number of lawsuits him-
both in Rome and in the provinces, and to his
eil³ he called consuls and praetors and the fore-
of the senators. He drained the Fucine Lake.⁴
ppointed four men of consular rank as judges
l Italy. When he went to Africa⁵ it rained on
rival for the first time in the space of five years,
or this he was beloved by the Africans.

XIII. After traversing, as he did, all parts of the
l with bare head and often in severe storms and

ormed them into official government positions. More-
his opening to the equestrian order of a career of great
nce and distinction led to the result that by the end of
ird century most of the important administrative posts
held by knights.

e c. viii. 9 and note.

ow Lago di Celano. It is in the centre of Italy, due
f Rome. An attempt to drain it by means of a tunnel
ade by Claudius (see Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 56 and 57), but not
uccessfully. Another attempt, made by Trajan, is re-
l in an inscription (*C.I.L.*, ix. 3915).

e c. xiii. 4.

HADRIAN

- 3 quem postea, ut diximus, mori coegit, item ¹ Fuscum,
 quod imperium praesagiis et ostentis agitatus speraret.
 4 in summa detestatione habuit Platorium Nepotem,
 quem tantopere ante dilexit ut veniens ad eum aegro-
 tantem Hadrianus impune non admitteretur, suspic-
 5 ionibus adductus, et eodem modo et Terentium
 Gentianum, et hunc vehementius, quod a senatu dili-
 6 genter videbat. omnes postremo, de quorum imperio
 cogitavit, quasi futuros imperatores detestatus est.
 7 et omnem quidem vim crudelitatis ingenitae usque eo
 repressit donec in Villa Tiburtina profluvio sanguinis
 8 paene ad exitum venit. tunc libere Servianum quasi
 adfectatorem imperii, quod servis regiis cenam misis-
 set, quod in sedili regio iuxta lectum posito sedisset,
 quod erectus ad stationes militum senex nonagenarius
 processisset, mori coegit, multis aliis interfectis vel
 9 aperte vel per insidias; quando quidem etiam Sabina
 uxor non sine fabula veneni dati ab Hadriano de-
 functa est.
- 10 Tunc Ceionium Commodum, Nigrini generum
 insidiatoris quondam, sibi forma commendatum adop-
 11 tare constituit. adoptavit ergo Ceionium Commodum

¹ *item om. in P, inserted by Peter.*

¹ See c. xv. 8.

² Pedanius Fuscus, the grandson of Servianus, was killed at the age of eighteen; see Dio, lxix. 17.

³ See c. iv. 2 and note.

⁴ D. Terentius Gentianus held an important command in Trajan's wars in Dacia and became a patron of the colony of Sarmizegetusa, the capital of the province; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1463.

⁵ See c. xxvi. 5.

⁶ *i.e.* the guard that was regularly on duty at the Palace; see Suetonius, *Tib.*, xxiv. 1; *Nero*, xxi. 1.

HADRIAN XXIII. 3-11

frosts, he contracted an illness which confined him to his bed. And becoming anxious about a successor he thought first of Servianus. Afterwards, however, as I have said,¹ he forced him to commit suicide; and Fuscus,² too, he put to death on the ground that, being spurred on by prophecies and omens, he was hoping for the imperial power. Carried away by suspicion, he held in the greatest abhorrence Platorius Nepos,³ whom he had formerly so loved that, once, when he went to see him while ill and was refused admission, he nevertheless let him go unpunished. Also he hated Terentius Gentianus,⁴ but even more vehemently, because he saw that he was then beloved by the senate. At last, he came to hate all those of whom he had thought in connection with the imperial power, as though they were really about to be emperors. However, he controlled all the force of his innate cruelty down to the time when in his Tiburtine Villa⁵ he almost met his death through a hemorrhage. Then he threw aside all restraint and compelled Servianus to kill himself, on the ground that he aspired to the empire, merely because he gave a feast to the royal slaves, sat in a royal chair placed close to his bed, and, though an old man of ninety, used to arise and go forward to meet the guard of soldiers.⁶ He put many others to death, either openly or by treachery, and indeed, when his wife Sabina died, the rumour arose that the Emperor had given her poison.

Hadrian then determined to adopt Ceionius Com-¹³⁶modus, son-in-law of Nigrinus, the former conspirator, and this in spite of the fact that his sole recommendation was his beauty. Accordingly, despite the opposition of all, he adopted Ceionius Commodus

HADRIAN

Verum invitis omnibus eumque Helium Verum Cae-
 12sarem appellavit. ob cuius adoptionem¹ ludos
 circenses dedit et donativum populo ac militibus
 13expendit. quem praetura honoravit ac statim Pan-
 noniis imposuit decreto consulatu cum sumptibus.²
 eundem Commodum secundo consulem designavit.
 14quem cum minus sanum videret, saepissime dictitavit :
 " In caducum parietem nos inclinavimus et perdidimus
 quater milies sestertium, quod populo et militi-
 15bus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus". Commodus
 autem prae valetudine nec gratias quidem in senatu
 16agere potuit Hadriano de adoptione. denique ac-
 cepto largius antidoto ingravescente valetudine per
 somnum periit ipsis kalendis Ianuariis. quare ab
 Hadriano votorum causa lugeri est vetitus.

XXIV. Et³ mortuo Helio Vero Caesare Hadrianus
 ingruente tristissima valetudine adoptavit Arrium
 Antoninum, qui postea Pius dictus est, et ea quidem⁴

¹ *adoptionem* P, Petschenig; *adoptionem* Peter. ² *con-*
sulatus sumptibus P. ³ *et* P; *sed* Cas., Peter. ⁴ *et*
ea quidem Jordan; *et eadem* P.

¹ More correctly, L. Ceionius Commodus; he was adopted under the name L. Aelius Caesar. The cognomen Verus, given to him here and in his biography (*Ael.*, ii. 1 and 6), is not attested by inscriptions or coins, and seems to have arisen through a confusion with his son, adopted by Antoninus Pius, and, after his accession to the throne, called L. Aurelius Verus. The form Helius which is used throughout the *Historia*

HADRIAN XXIII. 12—XXIV.

Verus¹ and called him Aelius Verus Caesar. On the occasion of the adoption he gave games in the Circus and bestowed largess upon the populace and the soldiers.² He dignified Commodus with the office of praetor³ and immediately placed him in command of the Pannonian provinces, and also conferred on him the consulship together with money enough to meet the expenses of the office. He also appointed Commodus to a second consulship. And when he saw that the man was diseased, he used often to say: "We have leaned against a tottering wall and have wasted the four hundred million sesterces which we gave to the populace and the soldiers on the adoption of Commodus⁴". Moreover, because of his ill-health, Commodus could not even make a speech in the senate thanking Hadrian for his adoption. Finally, too large a quantity of medicine was administered to him, and thereupon his illness increased, and he died in his sleep on the very Kalends of January.⁵ Because of the date^{1 Jan., 138.} Hadrian forbade public mourning for him, in order that the vows for the state might be assumed as usual.

XXIV. After the death of Aelius Verus Caesar, Hadrian was attacked by a very severe illness, and^{25 Feb.,} thereupon he adopted Arrius Antoninus⁶ (who was^{138.}

Augusta has no warrant whatsoever; its substitution for Aelius is probably due to some editor.

¹ Cf. *Ael.*, iii. 3; vi. 1.

² This statement, as found here and in *Ael.*, iii. 2, is incorrect, for he was praetor in 130 and consul in 136, the year in which he was adopted. He was consul for the second time in 137 and was then placed in command of the two provinces of Pannonia.

³ Cf. *Ael.*, vi. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Ael.*, iv. 7.

⁵ More correctly, T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see *Pius*, i. 1. After his adoption his name was T. Aelius Caesar Antoninus.

HADRIAN

lege ut ille sibi duos adoptaret, Annium Verum et Mar-
 2 cum Antoninum. hi sunt qui postea duo pariter Augusti
 3 primi rem publicam gubernaverunt. et Antoninus
 quidem Pius ideirco appellatus dicitur quod socerum
 4 fessum aetate manu sublevaret, quamvis alii cogno-
 mentum hoc ei dicant inditum, quod multos senatores
 5 Hadriano iam saevienti abripuisset, alii, quod ipsi
 Hadriano magnos honores post mortem detulisset.
 6 Antonini adoptionem plurimi tunc factam esse dolue-
 runt, speciatim Catilius Severus, praefectus urbi, qui
 7 sibi praeparabat imperium. qua re prodita successore
 accepto dignitate privatus est.
 8 Hadrianus autem ultimo vitae taedio iam adfectus
 9 gladio se transfigi a servo iussit. quod cum esset
 proditum et in Antonini usque notitiam venisset,
 ingressis ad se praefectis et filio rogantibusque ut
 aequo animo necessitatem morbi ferret, dicente Anto-
 nino parricidam se futurum si Hadrianum adoptatus
 10 ipse pateretur occidi,¹ iratus illis auctorem proditionis
 iussit occidi, qui tamen ab Antonino servatus est.
 11 statimque testamentum scripsit nec tamen actus rei

¹ *dicente . . . occidi* follows in *P statimque . . . praeter-
 misit*; transposed to follow *ut . . . ferret* by Gemoll, so Peter².

¹ The names of the two adopted sons of Antoninus Pius are entirely confused. The biographer is referring here to L. Ceionius Commodus, the son of L. Aelius Caesar, called, after his adoption by Antoninus, L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus. On his succession to the throne, he took the cognomen of his adoptive brother Annius Verus (M. Aurelius Antoninus) and reigned as L. Aurelius Verus.

² His name before adoption was M. Annius Verus; after adoption he seems to have been called M. Aelius Aurelius Verus. On the death of Antoninus Pius he called himself M. Aurelius Antoninus.

³ So also *Pius*, ii. 3.

⁴ See c. xxv. 8 and *Pius*, ii. 4.

HADRIAN XXIV. 2-11

afterwards called Pius), imposing on him the condition that he adopt two sons, Annius Verus¹ and Marcus Antoninus.² These were the two who afterwards ruled the empire together, the first joint Augusti. And as for Antoninus, he was called Pius, it is said, because he used to give his arm to his father-in-law when weakened by old age.³ However, others assert that this surname was given to him because, as Hadrian grew more cruel, he rescued many senators from the Emperor⁴; others, again, that it was because he bestowed great honours upon Hadrian after his death.⁵ The adoption of Antoninus was lamented by many at that time, particularly by Catilius Severus,⁶ the prefect of the city, who was making plans to secure the throne for himself. When this fact became known, a successor was appointed for him and he was deprived of his office.

But Hadrian was now seized with the utmost disgust of life and ordered a servant to stab him with a sword. When this was disclosed and reached the ears of Antoninus, he came to the Emperor, together with the prefects, and begged him to endure with fortitude the hard necessity of illness, declaring furthermore that he himself would be no better than a parricide, were he, an adopted son, to permit Hadrian to be killed. The Emperor then became angry and ordered the betrayer of the secret to be put to death; however, the man was saved by Antoninus. Then Hadrian immediately drew up his will, though he did not lay aside the administration of the empire. Once more, however, after making

¹ See c. xxvii. 4 and *Pius*, ii. 5.

² He had been the colleague of Antoninus in the consulship in 120; see *Pius*, ii. 9.

HADRIAN

12 publicae praetermisit. et post testamentum qu
iterum se conatus ¹ occidere subtracto pugione sa
13 factus est. petiit et venenum a medico, qui se
ne daret, occidit.

XXV. Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam m
quae diceret somnio se monitam ut insinuaret H
ano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus ;
cum non fecisset, esse caecatam. iussam tamen it
Hadriano eadem dicere atque genua eius oscu
2 oculos ² recepturam si id fecisset. quod cum in
nium ³ implesset, oculos recepit, cum aqua, qu
3 fano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. ver
de Pannonia quidam vetus caecus ad febrie
4 Hadrianum eumque contigit. quo facto et
oculos recepit et Hadrianum febris reliquit, q
vis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem
commemoret.

5 Post haec Hadrianus Baias petiit Antonino R
6 ad imperandum relicto. ubi cum nihil profic
arcessito Antonino in conspectu eius apud ipsas
7 periit die VI iduum Iuliarum. invisusque om
sepultus est in villa Ciceroniana Puteolis.

8 Sub ipso mortis tempore et Servianum nona
annos agentem, ut ⁴ supra dictum est, ne sibi su
viveret ⁵ atque, ut putabat, imperaret, mori coeg
ob leves offensas plurimos iussit occidi, quos A

¹ est con. P. ² oculos om. in P, supplied by G
uisum (added after *recepit*), P corr., so Peter, but see I
I, p. 3. ³ insomnium Cas.; in somnio P; somnium N
⁴ ut B corr., om. in P; *supra dictum est* deleted by I
⁵ *superuiveret* Petrarch; *suprauiveret* P, Peter.

¹ See c. xv. 8 and xxiii. 2 and 8.

his will, he attempted to kill himself, but the dagger was taken from him. He then became more violent, and he even demanded poison from his physician, who thereupon killed himself in order that he might not have to administer it.

XXV. About this time there came a certain woman, who said that she had been warned in a dream to coax Hadrian to refrain from killing himself, for he was destined to recover entirely, but that she had failed to do this and had become blind; she had nevertheless been ordered a second time to give the same message to Hadrian and to kiss his knees, and was assured of the recovery of her sight if she did so. The woman then carried out the command of the dream, and received her sight after she had bathed her eyes with the water in the temple from which she had come. Also a blind old man from Pannonia came to Hadrian when he was ill with fever, and touched him; whereupon the man received his sight, and the fever left Hadrian. All these things, however, Marius Maximus declares were done as a hoax.

After this Hadrian departed for Baiae, leaving Antoninus at Rome to carry on the government. But he received no benefit there, and he thereupon sent for Antoninus, and in his presence he died there at Baiae on the sixth day before the Ides of July. ^{10 July,} Hated by all, he was buried at Puteoli on an estate ^{138.} that had belonged to Cicero.

Just before his death, he compelled Servianus, then ninety years old, to kill himself, as has been said before,¹ in order that Servianus might not outlive him, and, as he thought, become emperor. He likewise gave orders that very many others who were guilty of slight offences should be put to death; these,

HADRIAN

9 inus reservavit. et moriens quidem hos versus
fecisse dicitur :

Animula vagula blandula
hospes comesque corporis,
quae nunc abibis in loca
pallidula rigida nudula ?
nec ut soles dabis iocos !

10 tales autem nec multos ¹ meliores fecit et Graecos.

11 Vixit annis LXII,² mensibus V, diebus XVII. imperavit annis XX,³ mensibus XI.

XXVI. Statura fuit procerus, forma comptus, flexo ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret, habitudine robusta. 2 equitavit ambulavitque plurimum armisque et pilo se 3 semper exercuit. venatus frequentissime leonem manu sua occidit. venando autem iugulum et costam fregit. venationem semper cum amicis participavit. 4 in convivio tragoedias comoedias Atellanas sambucas 5 lectores poetas pro re semper exhibuit. Tiburtinam Villam mire exaedificavit, ita ut in ea et provinciarum et locorum celeberrima nomina inscriberet, velut Lyceum, Academian, Prytaneum, Canopum, Poicilen, Tempe vocaret. et, ut nihil praetermitteret, etiam inferos finxit.

6 Signa mortis haec habuit: natali suo ultimo, cum

¹ multos P; *multo* Peter.

² LXII Salm.; LXXII P.

³ XX Cas.; XXI P.

¹ Translated by A. O'Brien-Moore.

² The name was derived from Atella, a Campanian town, where, it was supposed, farces of this type originated.

³ This palace was built by Hadrian during the last years of his reign; it was a characteristic expression of both his

HADRIAN XXV. 9—XXVI. 6

however, were spared by Antoninus. And he is said, as he lay dying, to have composed the following lines :

“O blithe little soul, thou, flitting away,
Guest and comrade of this my clay,
Whither now goest thou, to what place
Bare and ghastly and without grace?
Nor, as thy wont was, joke and play.”¹

Such verses as these did he compose, and not many that were better, and also some in Greek.

He lived 62 years, 5 months, 17 days. He ruled 20 years, 11 months.

XXVI. He was tall of stature and elegant in appearance ; his hair was curled on a comb, and he wore a full beard to cover up the natural blemishes on his face ; and he was very strongly built. He rode and walked a great deal and always kept himself in training by the use of arms and the javelin. He also hunted, and he used often to kill a lion with his own hand, but once in a hunt he broke his collar-bone and a rib ; these hunts of his he always shared with his friends. At his banquets he always furnished, according to the occasion, tragedies, comedies, Atellan farces,² players on the sambuca, readers, or poets. His villa at Tibur³ was marvellously constructed, and he actually gave to parts of it the names of provinces and places of the greatest renown, calling them, for instance, Lyceum, Academia, Prytaneum, Canopus, Poecile and Tempe. And in order not to omit anything, he even made a Hades.

The premonitions of his death were as follows : On eccentricity and his magnificence. Its extensive remains, covering, together with its gardens, about 160 acres, are still to be seen on the edge of the plain about three miles south-east of Tibur (Tivoli).

HELIUS

AELII SPARTIANI

Diocletiano Augusto Aelius Spartianus
suus sal.

I. In animo mihi est, Diocletiane Auguste, tot principum maxime, non solum eos qui principum locum in hac statione quam temperas retentarunt, ut usque ad divum Hadrianum feci, sed illos etiam qui vel Caesarum nomine appellati sunt nec principes aut Augusti fuerunt vel quolibet alio genere aut in famam aut in spem principatus venerunt, cognitioni numinis tui sternere. quorum praecipue de Helio Vero dicendum est, qui primus tantum Caesaris nomen accepit, adoptione Hadriani familiae principum adscitus. et quoniam nimis pauca dicenda sunt, nec debet prologus inormior¹ esse quam fabula, de ipso iam loquar.

II. Ceionius Commodus, qui et Helius Verus appel-

¹ *enormior* P³; *al' morosior* P⁴.

¹ On his adoption by Hadrian he took the cognomen Caesar,

AELIUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

To Diocletian Augustus, his devoted servant,
Aelius Spartianus, greeting :

I. It is my purpose, Diocletian Augustus, greatest of a long line of rulers, to present to the knowledge of your Divine Majesty, not only those who have held as ruling emperors the high post which you maintain—I have done this as far as the Deified Hadrian—but also those who either have borne the name of Caesar, though never hailed emperors or Augusti, or have attained in some other fashion to the fame of the imperial power or the hope of gaining it. Among these I must tell first and foremost of Aelius Verus, who through his adoption by Hadrian became a member of the imperial family, and was the first to receive only the name of Caesar.¹ Since I can tell but little of him, and the prologue should not be more extensive than the play, I shall now proceed to tell of the man himself.

II. The life of Ceionius Commodus, also called Aelius

but, as he did not become emperor, he never assumed any of the imperial titles. From this time on, it was customary for the son of the reigning emperor to bear the name Caesar.

AELIUS

latus est, quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit, nihil habet in sua vita memorabile, nisi quod 2 primus tantum Caesar est appellatus, non testamento, ut antea solebat, neque eo modo quo Traianus est adoptatus, sed eo prope genere quo nostris temporibus a vestra clementia Maximianus atque Constantius Caesares dicti sunt quasi quidam principum filii veri et ¹ designati augustae maiestatis heredes.

3 Et quoniam de Caesarum nomine in huius praecipue vita est aliquid disputandum, qui hoc solum nomen indeptus ² est, Caesarem vel ab elephanto, qui lingua Maurorum caesai dicitur, in proelio caeso, eum qui primus sic appellatus est doctissimi viri et eruditissimi putant dictum, vel quia mortua matre et ventre caeso sit natus, vel quod cum magnis crinibus sit utero parentis effusus, vel quod oculis caesiis et ultra humanum morem viguerit. certe quaecumque illa, 5 felix necessitas fuit, unde tam clarum et duraturum cum aeternitate mundi nomen effloruit.

6 Hic ergo, de quo sermo est, primum Lucius Aurelius Verus est dictus, sed ab Hadriano adscitus in Heliorum familiam, hoc est in Hadriani, transcriptus

¹ *veri et* Obrecht and others; *uiri et* P; *uirtute* Peter, following Bernhardt. ² *al' adeptus* P corr.

¹ On the correct form of his name see note to *Hadr.*, xxiii. 11.

² In 136; see *Hadr.*, xxiii. 10.

³ The biographer seems to be thinking of the testamentary adoption of Octavian by Julius Caesar.

⁴ Trajan, on his adoption, did not assume the name Caesar; this seems to be the only difference.

⁵ The elephant appears as an emblem on a coin of Julius Caesar; see Cohen, *i*², p. 17, No. 49.

⁶ *A caeso matris utero dictus*, Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 47.

⁷ *i.e.*, caesaries. This etymology is given by Festus, p. 57,

AELIUS II. 2-6

Verus,¹ adopted by Hadrian² after his journey through the world, when he was burdened by old age and weakened by cruel disease, contains nothing worthy of note except that he was the first to receive only the name of Caesar. This was conferred, not by last will and testament, as was previously the custom,³ nor yet in the fashion in which Trajan was adopted,⁴ but well nigh in the same manner as in our own time your Clemency conferred the name of Caesar on Maximianus and on Constantius, as on true sons of the imperial house and heirs apparent of your August Majesty.

Now whereas I must needs tell something of the name of the Caesars, particularly in a life of the man who received this name alone of the imperial titles, men of the greatest learning and scholarship aver that he who first received the name of Caesar was called by this name, either because he slew in battle an elephant,⁵ which in the Moorish tongue is called *caesai*, or because he was brought into the world after his mother's death and by an incision in her abdomen,⁶ or because he had a thick head of hair⁷ when he came forth from his mother's womb, or, finally, because he had bright grey eyes⁸ and was vigorous beyond the wont of human beings. At any rate, whatever be the truth, it was a happy fate which ordained the growth of a name so illustrious, destined to last as long as the universe endures.

This man, then, of whom I shall write, was at first called Lucius Aurelius Verus,⁹ but on his adoption by Hadrian he passed into the family of the Aelii, that

and both this and the preceding derivation are listed by Isidorus (*Orig.*, ix. 3, 12).

⁵ i.e., *oculis caesiis*.

⁹ An error; see note to *Hadr.*, xxiii. 11,

AELIUS

7 et appellatus est Caesar. huic pater Ceionius Com-
 modus fuit, quem alii Verum, alii Lucium Aurelium,
 8 multi Annium prodiderunt. maiores omnes nobilis-
 simi, quorum origo pleraque ex Etruria fuit vel ex
 9 Faventia. et de huius quidem familia plenius in
 vita Lucii Aurelii Ceionii Commodi Veri Antonini,
 filii huiusce, quem sibi adoptare Antoninus iussus
 10 est, disseremus. is enim liber debet omnia quae ad
 stemma generis pertinent continere, qui habet prin-
 cipem de quo plura dicenda sunt.

III. Adoptatus autem Helius Verus ab Hadriano eo
 tempore quo iam, ut superius diximus, parum vige-
 2 bat et de successore necessario cogitabat. statimque
 praetor factus et Pannoniis dux ac rector impositus,
 mox consul creatus et, quia erat deputatus ¹ imperio,
 3 iterum consul designatus est. datum etiam populo
 congiarium causa eius adoptionis conlatumque militi-
 bus sestertium ter milies, circenses editi, neque quic-
 quam praetermissum quod posset laetitiam publicam
 4 frequentare. tantumque apud Hadrianum principem
 valuit ut praeter adoptionis adfectum, quo ei vide-
 batur adiunctus, solus omnia, quae cuperet, etiam per
 5 litteras impetraret. nec provinciae quidem, cui
 6 praepositus erat, defuit; nam bene gestis rebus vel

¹ *deputans* P¹; *al' iam deputatus* P corr.

¹ L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106. None of the various names given in the following clauses was ever borne by him.

² For the correct form of his name and for his adoption by Antoninus Pius see *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxiii. 10 f.

⁴ On this error see note to *Hadr.*, xxiii. 13.

is, into Hadrian's, and received the name of Caesar. His father was Ceionius Commodus,¹ whom some have called Verus, others, Lucius Aurelius, and many, Annius. His ancestors, all men of the highest rank, had their origin for the most part in Etruria or Faventia. Of his family, however, we will speak at greater length in the life of his son, Lucius Aurelius Ceionius Commodus Verus Antoninus,² whom Antoninus was ordered to adopt. For all that pertains to the family-tree should be included in the work which deals with a prince of whom there is more to be told.

III. Aelius Verus was adopted by Hadrian at the time when, as we have previously said,³ the Emperor's health was beginning to fail and he was forced to take thought for the succession. He was at once made praetor⁴ and appointed military and civil governor of the provinces of Pannonia; afterwards he was created¹³⁶ consul, and then, because he had been chosen to succeed to the imperial power, he was named for a¹³⁷ second consulship. On the occasion of his adoption largess was given to the populace,⁵ three hundred million sesterces were distributed among the soldiers, and races were held in the Circus; in short, nothing was omitted which could signalize the public rejoicing. He had, moreover, such influence with Hadrian, even apart from the affection resulting from his adoption, which seemed a firm enough tie between them, that he was the only one who obtained his every desire, even when expressed in a letter. Besides, in the province to which he had been appointed he was by no means a failure; for he carried on a campaign with success, or rather, with good fortune, and achieved

⁵ Cf. c. vi. 1 and *Had.*, xxiii. 12.

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potius feliciter etiamsi non summi, medii tamen obtinuit ducis famam.

- 7 Hic tamen valetudinis adeo miserae fuit ut Hadrianum statim adoptionis paenituerit potueritque¹ eum amovere a familia imperatoria, cum saepe de aliis cogitaret, si forte vixisset.² fertur denique ab iis qui Hadriani vitam diligentius in litteras rettulerunt Hadrianum Veri scisse genituram et eum, quem non multum ad rem publicam regendam probarat, ob hoc tantum adoptasse ut suae satisfaceret voluptati et, ut quidam dicunt, iuri iurando, quod intercessisset inter ipsum ac Verum secretis condicionibus ferebatur. fuisse enim Hadrianum peritum matheseos Marius Maximus usque adeo demonstrat ut eum dicat cuncta de se scisse, sic ut omnium dierum usque ad IV. horam mortis futuros actus ante perscripserit. satis praeterea constat eum de³ Vero saepe dixisse :

“Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra esse sinent.”

- 2 quos versus cum aliquando in hortulo spatians cantaret atque adesset unus ex litteratis, quorum Hadrianus speciosa societate gaudebat, velletque addere

“nimium vobis Romana propago

visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent,”

- 3 Hadrianus dixisse fertur “hos versus vita non capit Veri,” illud addens :

¹ So P¹; *al' petiuerit* P corr.; *uolueritque* Oberdick and others. ² *uolueritque eum amouere . . . et amouisset si forte vixisset* Novak. ³ So P; *eundem de* Peter, following B, *eundem*.

¹ Cf. *Hadri.*, xvi. 7.

² This and the two following quotations from the *Aeneid* are taken from the famous passage, vi. 869-886, commemorat-

AELIUS III. 7—IV. 3

the reputation, if not of a pre-eminent, at least of an average, commander.

Verus had, however, such wretched health that Hadrian immediately regretted the adoption, and since he often considered others as possible successors, he might have removed him altogether from the imperial family had Verus chanced to live longer. In fact, it is reported by those who have set down in writing all the details of Hadrian's life, that the Emperor was acquainted with Verus' horoscope, and that he adopted a man whom he did not really deem suitable to govern the empire merely for the purpose of gratifying his own desires, and, some even say, of complying with a sworn agreement said to have been contracted on secret terms between himself and Verus. For Marius Maximus represents Hadrian as so expert in astrology, as even to assert that he knew all about his own future, and that he actually wrote down beforehand what he was destined to do on every day down to the hour of his death.¹ IV. Furthermore, it is generally known that he often said about Verus :

"This hero Fate will but display to earth

Nor suffer him to stay."²

And once when Hadrian was reciting these verses while strolling about in his garden, one of the literary men, in whose brilliant company he delighted,³ happened to be present and proceeded to add,

"The race of Rome,
Would seem to You, O Gods, to be too great,
Were such gifts to endure."

Thereupon the Emperor remarked, it is said, "The life of Verus will not admit of these lines," and added, ing Marcellus, the nephew and heir presumptive of Augustus, who died in 23 B.C. at the age of twenty years.

³ Cf. *Hadrian*, xvi. 8 f.

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“ Manibus date lilia plenis ;
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere,”

4 cum quidem etiam illud dicitur cum ¹ risione dixisse ;
5 “ Ego mihi divum adoptavi non filium ”. hunc ²
tamen cum consolaretur unus de litteratis qui aderat
ac diceret : “ Quid ³ ? si non recte constellatio eius col-
lecta est quem credimus esse victurum ? ” Hadrianus
dixisse fertur : “ Facile ista dicis tu, qui patrimonii
6 tui non rei publicae quaeris heredem ”. unde apparet
eum habuisse in animo alium deligere atque hunc
ultimo vitae suae tempore a re publica summovere.
7 sed eius consiliis iuvat eventus. nam cum de pro-
vincia Helius redisset atque orationem pulcherrimam,
quae hodieque legitur, sive per se seu per scriniorum
aut dicendi magistros parasset, qua kalendis Ianuariis
Hadriano patri gratias ageret, accepta potione, qua
se aestimaret iuvari, kalendis ipsis Ianuariis periit.
8 iussusque ab Hadriano, quia vota interveniebant, non
lugeri.

V. Fuit hic vitae laetissimae, eruditus in litteris,
Hadriano, ut malevoli loquuntur, acceptior forma
2 quam moribus. in aula diu non fuit, in vita privata
etsi minus probabilis, minus tamen reprehendendus

¹ *al' eum* P corr.
tunc Petschenig.

² *nunc tamen cum eum* P and Peter ;
³ So P ; *quod* Peter¹ with B.

¹ An allusion to the practice of deifying deceased members of the imperial family. As a matter of fact, however, Aelius was not deified.

"Bring lilies with a bounteous hand;
And I the while will scatter rosy blooms,
Thus doing honour to our kinsman's soul

With these poor gifts—though useless be the task."

At the same time, too, Hadrian, it is reported, remarked with a laugh: "I seem to have adopted, not a son, but a god".¹ Yet when one of these same literary men who was present tried to console him, saying: "What if a mistake has been made in casting the horoscope of this man who, as we believe, is destined to live"? Hadrian is said to have answered: "It is easy for you to say that, when you are looking for an heir to your property, not to the Empire". This makes it clear that he intended to choose another heir, and at the end of his life to remove Verus from the government of the state. However, fortune aided his purpose. For after Verus had returned from his province, and had finished composing, either by his own efforts or with the help of imperial secretaries or the rhetoricians, a very pretty speech, still read nowadays, wherein he intended to convey his thanks to his father Hadrian on the Kalends of January, he swallowed a potion which he believed would benefit him and died on that very day of January.² All public lamentation for him was forbidden by Hadrian because it was the time for assuming the vows for the state.

V. Verus was a man of joyous life and well versed in letters, and he was endeared to Hadrian, as the malicious say, rather by his beauty³ than by his character. In the palace his stay was but a short one; in his private life, though there was little to be commended, yet there was little to be blamed.

² Cf. *Had.*, xxiii. 16 f.

³ Cf. *Had.*, xxiii. 10.

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ac memor familiae suae, comptus, decorus, pulchritudinis regiae, oris venerandi, eloquentiae celsioris, 3 versu facilis, in re publica etiam non inutilis. huius voluptates ab iis qui vitam eius scripserunt multae feruntur, et quidem¹ non infames sed aliquatenus 4 diffuentes. nam tetrapharmacum, seu potius pentapharmacum, quo postea semper Hadrianus est usus, ipse dicitur repperisse, hoc est sumen phasianum 5 pavonem pernam crustulatam et aprunam. de quo genere cibi aliter refert Marius Maximus, non pentapharmacum sed tetrapharmacum appellans, ut et nos 6 ipsi in eius vita persecuti sumus. fertur etiam aliud 7 genus voluptatis, quod Verus invenerat. nam lectum eminentibus quattuor anacliteriis fecerat minuto reticulo undique inclusum eumque foliis rosae, quibus demptum esset album,² replebat iacensque cum concubinis velamine de liliis facto se tegebat unctus 8 odoribus Persicis. iam illa frequentantur a nonnullis quod et accubitationes ac mensas de rosis ac liliis fecerit et quidem purgatis, quae etsi non decora, non 9 tamen ad perniciem publicam prompta sunt. atque idem Apicii Caelii relata, idem Ovidii libros Amorum³ in lecto semper habuisse, idem Martialem, epigram- 10 maticum poetam, Vergilium suum dixisse. iam illa

¹ et quidem Lessing; equidem P, Peter.

² udum Oberdick; tabum Novak. ³ So Peter; atque idem ovidii ab aliis relata idem apicii libros amorum P, which Salm. arranged: idem Apicii relata idem Ovidii libros am.

¹ Hadr., xxi. 4.

² Apparently the extant *Apicii Caelii de re coquinaria libri X*, a collection of culinary recipes, which, however, in its present form is to be dated in the third century. The name of the compiler was probably taken from that of M. Gavius Apicius, a noted gourmet of the time of Tiberius,

AELIUS V. 3-10

Furthermore, he was considerate of his family, well-dressed, elegant in appearance, a man of regal beauty, with a countenance that commanded respect, a speaker of unusual eloquence, deft at writing verse, and, moreover, not altogether a failure in public life. His pleasures, many of which are recorded by his biographers, were not indeed discreditable but somewhat luxurious. For it is Verus who is said to have been the inventor of the tetrapharmacum, or rather pentapharmacum, of which Hadrian was thereafter always fond, namely, a mixture of sows' udders, pheasant, peacock, ham in pastry and wild boar. Of this article of food Marius Maximus gives a different account, for he calls it, not pentapharmacum, but tetrapharmacum, as we have ourselves described it in our biography of Hadrian.¹ There was also another kind of pleasure, it is said, of which Verus was the inventor. He constructed, namely, a bed provided with four high cushions and all inclosed with a fine net; this he filled with rose-leaves, from which the white parts had been removed, and then reclined on it with his mistresses, burying himself under a coverlet made of lilies, himself anointed with perfumes from Persia. Some even relate that he made couches and tables of roses and lilies, these flowers all carefully cleansed, a practice, which, if not creditable, at least did not make for the destruction of the state. Furthermore, he always kept the *Recipes* of Caelius Apicius² and also Ovid's *Amores* at his bedside, and declared that Martial,³ the writer of Epigrams, was his Vergil. Still more trivial was his custom of fastening wings on many of his messengers after the

¹ M. Valerius Martialis, born about 40, died about 102.

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leviora quod cursoribus suis exemplo Cupidinum alas frequenter adposuit eosque ventorum nominibus saepe vocitavit, Boream alium, alium Notum et item Aquilonem aut Circium ceterisque nominibus appellans et
 11 indefesse atque inhumaniter faciens cursitare. idem uxori conquerenti de extraneis voluptatibus dixisse fertur: "Patere me per alias exercere cupiditates meas; uxor enim dignitatis nomen est, non voluptatis".

12 Eius est filius Antoninus Verus, qui adoptatus est a Marco, vel certe cum Marco, et cum eodem aequale
 13 gessit imperium. nam ipsi sunt qui primi duo Augusti appellati sunt, et quorum fastis consularibus sic nomina praescribuntur ut dicantur non ¹ duo Antonini sed ²
 14 duo Augusti. tantumque huius rei et novitas et dignitas valuit ut fasti consulares nonnulli ab his sumerent ordinem consulum.

VI. Pro eius adoptione infinitam pecuniam populo
 2 et militibus Hadrianus dedit. sed cum eum videret homo paulo argutior miserrimae valetudinis, ita ut scutum solidius iactare non posset, dixisse fertur:
 3 "Ter milies perdidimus, quod exercitui populoque dependimus; si quidem satis in caducum parietem incubuimus ³ et qui non ipsam rem publicam, sed nos
 4 ipsos sustentare vix possit". et haec quidem Hadrianus cum praefecto suo locutus est. quae cum pro-
 5 didisset praefectus, ac per hoc Helius Caesar in dies magis magisque sollicitudine, utpote desperati hominis,

¹ non tantum P corr. ² set P corr.; et P¹. ³ So P corr. and Peter²; incubimus P¹.

¹ On this error see *Marc.*, v. 1 and note.

² i.e. by Antoninus Pius; see c. ii. 9 and note.

fashion of Cupids, and often giving them the names of the winds, calling one Boreas, another Notus, others Aquilo, or Circius, or some other like name, and forcing them to bear messages without respite or mercy. And when his wife complained about his amours with others, he said to her, it is reported: "Let me indulge my desires with others; for wife is a term of honour, not of pleasure".

His son was Antoninus Verus, who was adopted by Marcus,¹ or rather, with Marcus,² and received an equal share with him in the imperial power. For these are the men who first received the name of Augustus conjointly, and whose names are inscribed in the lists of the consuls, not as two Antonini but as two Augusti. And such was the impression created by the novelty and the dignity of this fact that in some of the lists the order of the consuls begins with the names of these emperors.

VI. On the occasion of the adoption of Verus, Hadrian bestowed a vast sum of money on the populace and the soldiery.³ But, being a rather sagacious man, when he saw that Verus was in such utterly wretched health that he could not brandish a shield of any considerable weight, he remarked, it is said:⁴ "We have lost the three hundred million sesterces which we paid out to the army and to the people, for we have indeed leaned against a tottering wall, and one which can hardly bear even our weight, much less that of the Empire". This remark, indeed, Hadrian made to his prefect, but the man repeated it, and as a result Aelius Cæsar grew worse every day from anxiety, as a man does who has

¹ Cf. c. iii. 3 and *Had.*, xxiii. 12.

⁴ Cf. *Had.*, xxiii. 14.

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adgravaretur, praefecto suo Hadrianus, qui rem prodiderat, successorem dedit, volens videri quod verba
 6 tristia temperasset. sed nihil profuit; nam, ut diximus, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Helius Caesar (nam his omnibus nominibus appellatus est) periit sepultusque est imperatorio funere, neque quic-
 7 quam de regia ni mortis habuit dignitatem. doluit ergo illius mortem ut bonus pater, non ut bonus princeps. nam cum amici solliciti quaerent, qui adoptari posset, Hadrianus dixisse fertur iis: "Etiam
 8 vivente adhuc Vero decreveram". ex quo ostendit
 9 aut iudicium suum aut scientiam futurorum. post hunc denique Hadrianus diu anceps quid faceret, Antoninum adoptavit Pium cognomine appellatum. cui condicionem addidit, ut ipse sibi Marcum et Verum Antoninus adoptaret filiamque suam Vero, non Marco
 10 daret. nec diutius vixit gravatus languore ac diverso genere morborum, saepe dicens sanum principem mori debere non debilem.

VII. Statuas sane Helio Vero per totum orbem colossas poni iussit, templa etiam in nonnullis urbibus
 2 fieri. denique illius merito filium eius Verum, nepotem utpote suum, qui pereunte Helio in familia ipsius Hadriani remanserat, adoptandum Antonino Pio cum Marco, ut iam diximus, dedit, saepe dicens: "Habeat

¹ On the resignation of the prefect, see note to *Hadr.*, ix. 4.

² See note to c. ii. 1.

³ Annia Galeria Faustina the younger; see *Pius*, x. 2.

lost hope. Thereupon Hadrian appointed a successor¹ for the prefect who had divulged the remark, wishing to give the impression that he had qualified his harsh words. But it profited him nothing, for Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus Aelius Cæsar (for he was called by all these names²) died and was accorded an emperor's funeral, nor did he derive any benefit from his imperial position save honour at his death. Hadrian, then, mourned his death as might a good father, not a good emperor. For when his friends anxiously asked who could now be adopted, Hadrian is said to have replied to them: "I decided that even when Verus was still alive," thereby showing either his good judgment or his knowledge of the future. After Verus' death Hadrian was in doubt for a time as to what he should do, but finally he adopted Antoninus, who had received the surname Pius. And he imposed on Antoninus the condition that he in turn should adopt Marcus and Verus, and should give his daughter³ in marriage to Verus, rather than to Marcus. Nor did Hadrian live long thereafter, but succumbed to weakness and illnesses of various kinds, all the while declaring that a prince ought to die, not in an enfeebled condition, but in full vigour.

VII. Hadrian gave orders that colossal statues of Verus should be set up all over the world, and in some cities he even had temples built. Finally, out of regard for him, Hadrian gave his son Verus (who had remained in the imperial household after his father's death) to Antoninus Pius, as I have already said,⁴ to be adopted as his son along with Marcus, treating the boy as if he were his own grandson; and he often remarked: "Let the Empire retain something of

¹ c. ii. 9; v. 12; vi. 9; *Hadri.*, xxiv. 1.

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³ res publica quodcumque de Vero". quod quidem contrarium iis quae de adoptionis paenitentia per auctores plurimos intimata sunt, cum Verus posterior nihil dignum praeter clementiam in moribus habuerit, quod imperatoriae familiae lumen adferret.

⁴ Haec sunt quae de Vero Caesare mandanda litteris
⁵ fuerunt. de quo idcirco non tacui, quia mihi propositum fuit omnes, qui post Caesarem dictatorem, hoc est divum Iulium, vel Caesares vel Augusti vel principes appellati sunt, quique in adoptionem venerunt, vel imperatorum filii aut parentes Caesarum nomine consecrati sunt, singulis libris exponere, meae satisfaciens conscientiae, etiamsi multis nulla sit necessitas talia requirendi.

Verus". This indeed contradicts all that very many authors have written with regard to Hadrian's regret for his adoption of Verus, since, save for a kindly character, there was nothing in the character of the younger Verus capable of shedding lustre on the imperial family.

These are the facts about Verus Cæsar which have seemed worthy of being consigned to letters. I was unwilling to leave him unmentioned for the reason that it is my purpose to set forth in single books the lives of all the successors of Cæsar the Dictator, that is, the Deified Julius, whether they were called Cæsars or Augusti or princes, and of all those who came into the family by adoption, whether it was as sons or as relatives of emperors that they were immortalized by the name of Cæsar, and thereby to satisfy my own sense of justice, even if there be many who will feel no compelling need of seeking such information.

ANTONINUS PIUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Tito Aurelio Fulvo Boionio Antonino Pio paternum genus e Gallia Transalpina, Nemausense scilicet, 2 avus Titus Aurelius Fulvus, qui per honores diversos ad secundum consulatum et praefecturam urbis 3 pervenit, pater Aurelius Fulvus, qui et ipse fuit consul, homo tristis et integer, avia materna Boionia 4 Procilla, mater Arria Fadilla, avus maternus Arrius Antoninus, bis consul, homo sanctus et qui Nervam 5 miseratus esset, quod imperare coepisset, soror 6 uterina Iulia Fadilla, vitricus Iulius Lupus consularis, 7 socer Annius Verus, uxor Annia Faustina, filii mares duo, duae feminae, gener per maiorem filiam Lamia Silanus, per minorem Marcus Antoninus fuere.

¹The correct form of his name prior to his adoption was T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 8239.

²The year is unknown; his first consulship was in 85. He had previously commanded the Third Legion, the *Gallica*, and had been honoured by Otho for successes against the Sarmatians.

³His first consulship was in 69; the year of the second is not known. He was one of the correspondents of the younger Pliny.

⁴See *Marc.*, i. 2.

⁵Her full name was Annia Galeria Faustina.

⁶Their names are given in their sepulchral inscriptions from the Mausoleum of Hadrian as M. Aurelius Fulvus

ANTONINUS PIUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus Pius¹ was descended, on his father's side, from a family which came from the country of Transalpine Gaul, more specifically, from the town of Nîmes. His grandfather was Titus Aurelius Fulvus, who after various offices of honour attained to a second consulship² and the prefecture of the city; his father was Aurelius Fulvus, also consul, and a stern and upright man. His mother was Arria Fadilla; her mother was Boionia Procilla and her father Arrius Antoninus, twice consul³ and a righteous man, who pitied Nerva that he assumed the imperial power. Julia Fadilla was his mother's daughter, his stepfather being Julius Lupus, a man of consular rank. His father-in-law was Annius Verus⁴ and his wife Annia Faustina,⁵ who bore him two sons⁶ and two daughters, of whom the elder⁷ was married to Lamia Silanus, and the younger⁸ to Marcus Antoninus.

Antoninus and M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 988 and 989. Both died before their father was adopted by Hadrian.

¹ Aurelia Fadilla. She died before her father's adoption (cf. c. iii. 6). Her sepulchral inscription is preserved (*C.I.L.*, vi. 990).

² Annia Galeria Faustina the younger. On her marriage to Marcus see c. x. 2 and note.

ANTONINUS PIUS

⁸ Ipse Antoninus Pius natus est XIII. kal. Oct. Flavio Domitiano XII. et Cornelio Dolabella consulibus in villa Lanuvina. educatus Lorii in Aurelia, ubi postea palatium extruxit, cuius hodieque reliquiae manent. pueritiam egit cum avo paterno, mox cum materno, omnes suos religiose colens, atque adeo et consobrinatorum et vitrici et multorum adfinium hereditate ditatus est.

¹ Fuit vir forma conspicuus, ingenio ¹ clarus, moribus clemens, nobilis vultu, placidus ingenio, singularis ² eloquentiae, nitidae litteraturae, praecipue sobrius, diligens agri cultor, mitis, largus, alieni abstinens, et omnia haec cum mensura et sine iactantia, ² in cunctis postremo laudabilis et qui merito Numae ³ Pompilio ex bonorum sententia comparatur. ³ Pius cognominatus est a senatu, vel quod soceri fessi iam aetatem manu praesente senatu levaret (quod quidem non satis magnae pietatis est argumentum, cum impius sit magis qui ista non faciat, quam pius qui debitum ⁴ reddat), vel quod eos quos Hadrianus per malam ⁵ valetudinem occidi iusserat, reservavit, vel quod Hadriano contra omnium studia post mortem infinitos ⁶ atque immensos honores decrevit, vel quod, cum se

¹ *ingenio* deleted by Peter, following Salm., who divides: *forma conspicuus, clarus moribus, clemens, nobilis, vultu placidus, ingenio singulari, eloquentiae nitidae, litteraturae praecipuae, sobrius, diligens agri cultor, etc.*; P punctuates: *forma conspicuus ingenio clarus moribus clemens nobilis vultu placidus ingenio singulari eloquentiae nitidae litteraturae praecipue sobrius diligens agri cultor., etc.*
² *singularis* P corr. ³ *comparatus* P; *comparetur* Kellerbauer.
⁴ *quod quidem . . . reddat* suspected as a marginal comment by Kellerbauer, probably rightly.

¹ In southern Etruria, about ten miles W. of Rome. The Via Aurelia ran N.W. from Rome along the coast of Etruria.

ANTONINUS PIUS I. 8—II. 6

Antoninus himself was born at an estate at Lanuvium on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of October in the twelfth consulship of Domitian and first of Cornelius Dolabella. He was reared at Lorium¹ on the Aurelian Way, where he afterwards built the palace whose ruins stand there to-day. He passed his childhood first with his paternal grandfather, then later with his maternal; and he showed such a dutiful affection toward all his family, that he was enriched by legacies from even his cousins, his stepfather, and many still more distant kin.

II. In personal appearance he was strikingly handsome, in natural talent brilliant, in temperament kindly; he was aristocratic in countenance and calm in nature, a singularly gifted speaker and an elegant scholar, conspicuously thrifty, a conscientious landholder, gentle, generous, and mindful of others' rights. He possessed all these qualities, moreover, in the proper mean and without ostentation, and, in fine, was praiseworthy in every way and, in the minds of all good men, well deserving of comparison with Numa Pompilius. He was given the name of Pius by the senate,² either because, when his father-in-law was old and weak, he lent him a supporting hand in his attendance at the senate (which act, indeed, is not sufficient as a token of great dutifulness, since a man were rather undutiful who did not perform this service than dutiful if he did), or because he spared those men whom Hadrian in his ill-health had con-

² The first three of the following reasons for the bestowal of the surname Pius on Antoninus are also given in *Had.*, xxiv. 3-5. The third is also given in Dio, lxx. 2, 1, and the last in Eutrop., viii. 8; Suidas, s. v. *Antoninus*; and Orosius, vii. 14, 1.

ANTONINUS PIUS

Hadrianus interimere vellet, ingenti custodia et
7 diligentia fecit, ne id posset admittere, vel quod
vere natura clementissimus et nihil temporibus suis
8 asperum fecit. idem faenus trientarium, hoc est
minimis usuris, exercuit, ut patrimonio suo plurimos
adiuvaret.

9 Fuit quaestor liberalis, praetor splendidus, con-
10 sul cum Catilio Severo. hic in omni privata vita ¹ in
agris frequentissime vixit, sed clarus in locis omnibus
11 fuit. ab Hadriano inter quattuor consulares, quibus
Italia committebatur, electus est ad eam partem Italiae
regendam in qua plurimum possidebat, ut Hadrianus
viri talis et honori consuleret et quieti.

III. Huic, cum Italiam regeret, imperii omen est
factum. nam cum tribunal ascendisset, inter alias
adclamationes dictum est 'Auguste, dii te servant'.
2 proconsulatum Asiae sic egit ut solus avum vinceret.
3 in proconsulatu etiam sic imperii omen accepit: nam
cum sacerdos femina Trallibus ² ex more proconsule

¹ *vita* om. in P, supplied (before *privata*) by P corr
² *trallis* P.

¹ Cf. *Had.*, xxiv. 9.

² The early rate of interest, said to have been fixed by the Twelve Tables, seems to have been 10 per cent. In the later republican period 12 per cent. was frequently exacted, but in 54 B.C. money could be had for 4 per cent. and the rise of the

ANTONINUS PIUS II. 7—III. 3

demned to death, or because after Hadrian's death he had unbounded and extraordinary honours decreed for him in spite of opposition from all, or because, when Hadrian wished to make away with himself, by great care and watchfulness he prevented him from so doing,¹ or because he was in fact very kindly by nature and did no harsh deed in his own time. He also loaned money at four per cent, the lowest rate ever exacted,² in order that he might use his fortune to aid many.

As quaestor³ he was generous, as praetor illustrious, and in the consulship he had as colleague Catilius Severus. His life as a private citizen he passed mostly on his estates but he was well-known everywhere. He was chosen by Hadrian from among the four men of consular rank under whose jurisdiction Italy was placed,⁴ to administer that particular part of Italy in which the greater part of his own holdings lay; from this it was evident that Hadrian had regard for both the fame and the tranquillity of such a man.

III. An omen of his future rule occurred while he was administering Italy; for when he mounted the tribunal, among other greetings some one cried, "God save thee, Augustus". His proconsulship in Asia⁵ he conducted in such a fashion that he alone excelled his grandfather; and in this proconsulship, too, he received another omen foretelling his rule; for at Tralles a priestess, being about to greet him after the custom of the place (for it was their custom

rate to 8 per cent. was a matter for comment; see Cicero, *ad Att.*, iv. 15, 7; *ad Quint. Fr.*, ii. 14, 4.

¹ About 111.

⁴ See *Hadrian.*, xxii. 13.

⁵ About 135. An inscription set up at Ephesus during his proconsulship is extant; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 2965.

ANTONINUS PIUS

semper hoc nomine salutare, non dixit 'Ave p
 4 consule,' sed 'Ave imperator'. Cyzici¹ etiam d
 simulacro dei ad statuam eius corona translata es
 5 et post consulatum in viridiario taurus marmorei
 cornibus ramis arboris adrescentibus adpensus es
 et fulgur caelo sereno sine noxa in eius domum veni
 et in Etruria dolia, quae defossa fuerant, supra terra
 reperta sunt, et statuas eius in omni Etruria exame
 apium replevit, et somnio saepe monitus est d
 penetibus eius² Hadriani simulacrum inserere.

6 Proficiscens ad proconsulatum filiam maiore
 7 amisit. de huius uxore multa dicta sunt ob nimia
 libertatem et vivendi facilitatem, quae iste cu
 8 animi dolore compressit. post proconsulatum
 consiliis Hadriani Romae frequens vixit, de omnibu
 de³ quibus Hadrianus consulebat, mitiorem sententia
 semper ostendens.

IV. Genus sane adoptionis tale fertur: mortuo Hel
 Vero, quem sibi Hadrianus adoptaverat et Caesare
 2 nuncupaverat, dies senatus habebatur; eo Arri
 Antoninus socii vestigia levans⁴ venit atque idcirco
 3 ab Hadriano dicitur adoptatus. quae causa sola est
 adoptionis nec potuit omnino nec debuit, maxime
 cum et semper rem publicam bene egisset Antonin

¹ *cilici* P¹ (for *cidici*; Salm.); *cilicie* (i.e. *ae*) P corr. ² *de om. in*
 Peter; *monitus sed penitus eius* P; *monitus est penetibus ei*
 Cas.; *monitus se dis penetibus eius* Salm. ³ *de om. in*
 supplied by Jordan. ⁴ *vel lavans* P corr.

¹ Aurelia Fadilla; see note to c. i. 7.

to greet the proconsuls by their title), instead of saying "Hail, proconsul," said "Hail, emperor"; at Cyzicus, moreover, a crown was transferred from an image of a god to a statue of him. After his consulship, again, a marble bull was found hanging in his garden with its horns attached to the boughs of a tree, and lightning from a clear sky struck his home without inflicting damage, and in Etruria certain large jars that had been buried were found above the ground again, and swarms of bees settled on his statues throughout all Etruria, and frequently he was warned in dreams to include an image of Hadrian among his household gods.

While setting out to assume his proconsular office he lost his elder daughter.¹ About the licence and loose living of his wife a number of things were said, which he heard with great sorrow and suppressed. On returning from his proconsulship he lived for the most part at Rome, being a member of the councils of Hadrian,² and in all matters concerning which Hadrian sought his advice, ever urging the more merciful course.

IV. The manner of his adoption, they say, was somewhat thus: After the death of Aelius Verus, whom Hadrian had adopted and named Caesar, a day was set for the meeting of the senate, and to this Arrius Antoninus came, supporting the steps of his father-in-law. For this act, it is said, Hadrian adopted him.³ But this could not have been the only reason for the adoption, nor ought it to have been, especially since Antoninus had always done well in his administration of public office, and in his pro-

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 9.

² But see c. ii. 3; *Hadr.*, xxiv. 3.

ANTONINUS PIUS

et in proconsulatu se sanctum gravemque prae-buisset.
 4 ergo cum eum Hadrianus adoptare se velle publicasset,
 acceptum est spatium deliberandi, utrum adrogari ab
 5 Hadriano vellet. adoptionis lex huiusmodi data est,
 ut quemadmodum Antoninus ab Hadriano adopta-
 batur ita sibi ille adoptaret M. Antoninum, fratris
 uxoris suae filium, et L. Verum, Helii Veri, qui ab
 Hadriano adoptatus fuerat, filium, qui postea Verus
 6 Antoninus est dictus. adoptatus est V. kal. Mart.
 die, in senatu gratias agens quod de se ita sensisset
 7 Hadrianus, factusque est patri et in imperio pro-
 8 consulari et in tribunicia potestate collega. huius
 primum hoc fertur quod, cum ab uxore¹ argueretur
 quasi parum nescio quid suis largiens, dixerit:
 "Stulta, posteaquam ad imperium transivimus, et
 9 illud quod habuimus ante perdidimus". congiarium
 10 populo² de proprio dedit et ea quae pater pro-
 miserat. et ad opera Hadriani plurimum contulit et
 aurum coronarium, quod adoptionis suae causa
 oblatum fuerat, Italicis totum, medium provinciali-
 bus reddidit.

¹ *ab uxore* P corr. (P¹ omits *ab*); *uxor* Mommsen; *cum ab uxore argueretur quasi carum (or rarum) nescio quid suis largiens* Salm. ² *militibus*, before *populo* in P, deleted by Jordan; *militibus ac populo* Vulg.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1; *Ael.*, vi. 9; Dio, lxi. 21, 1. On the names of his two adopted sons see notes to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

² According to the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 the date was afterwards commemorated by races in the circus at Lorum; see *C.I.L.*, i², pp. 258 and 310.

³ By the bestowal of these two powers, the basis of the civil and of the military power of the emperor respectively, he became *consors imperii*, or partner in the imperial power. Such a position had often been bestowed on the heir-apparent of the emperor. With regard to the proconsular power,

ANTONINUS IV. 4-10

consulship had shown himself a man of worth and dignity. At any rate, when Hadrian announced a desire to adopt him, he was given time for deciding whether he wished to be adopted. This condition was attached to his adoption,¹ that as Hadrian took Antoninus as his son, so he in turn should take Marcus Antoninus, his wife's nephew, and Lucius Verus, thenceforth called Verus Antoninus, the son of that Aelius Verus whom Hadrian had previously adopted. He was adopted on the fifth day before the Kalends 25 Feb., of March,² while returning thanks in the senate for¹³⁸ Hadrian's opinion concerning him, and he was made colleague to his father in both the proconsular and the tribunician power.³ It is related as his first remark, that when he was reproved by his wife because he was not sufficiently generous to his household in some trifling matter, he said: "Foolish woman, now that we have gained an empire, we have lost even what we had before". To the people he gave largess on his own account⁴ and also paid the moneys that his father had promised. He contributed a large amount of money, too, to Hadrian's public works,⁵ and of the crown-gold⁶ which had been presented to him on the occasion of his adoption, he returned all of Italy's share, and half of their share to the provinces.

the convention was always observed that it was valid only in the provinces, and the title of proconsul was not borne by the emperor within the confines of Italy.

¹ Commemorated by coins of 139 with the legend *Liberalitas*; see Cohen, ii², p. 316 f., Nos. 480-482.

² Attested by inscriptions from various towns of Italy; see E. E. Bryant, *Reign of Ant. Pius* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 38.

³ See *Had.*, vi. 5 and note.

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V. Et patri, cum advixit,¹ religiosissime paruit. sed Hadriano apud Baias mortuo reliquias eius Romam pervexit sancte ac reverenter atque in hortis Domitiae conlocavit, etiam repugnantibus cunctis inter divos² eum rettulit. uxorem Faustina Augustam appellari a senatu permisit. Pii appellationem recepit. patri et matri atque avis et fratribus iam mortuis statuas decretas libenter accepit. circenses natali suo dicatos non respuit aliis honoribus refutatis. clipeum Hadriano magnificentissimum posuit et sacerdotes instituit.
³ Factus imperator nulli eorum quos Hadrianus provexerat successorem dedit fuitque ea constantia ut septenis et novenis annis in provinciis bonos
⁴ praesides detineret. per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespicio summotis barbaris ducto, et Mauros ad pacem postulandam coegit, et

¹ cum advixit P¹; quoad vixit P corr.; dum advixit Salm.; cum advixerit Peter.

¹ See *Hadr.*, xxv. 6.

² See *Hadr.*, xxvii. 2.

³ On the coins issued in her honour during her life-time she is regularly called *Faustina Aug. Antonini Aug. P. P.*; see Cohen, ii². p. 424 f.

⁴ The name appears on coins of the latter part of 138; see Cohen, ii². p. 277, No. 66 f.

⁵ On such games see *Hadr.*, viii. 2 and note. Races in honour of Antoninus are listed for the 19 September (his birthday) in the Calendar of Philocalus.

⁶ The clipeus was a shield-shaped plate of metal, in this case doubtless of gold. It contained, sometimes an honorary inscription, sometimes a bust in high relief.

⁷ See *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3 and note.

⁸ Q. Lollius Urbicus had held a command in the war in Judæa under Hadrian, and later had been governor of Germania Inferior.

⁹ Probably in 142, for in an inscription of this year he is designated as Imp. II.; see *C.I.L.*, x. 515 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*,

ANTONINUS PIUS V. 2-4

V. His father, as long as he lived, he obeyed most scrupulously, and when Hadrian passed away at Baiae¹ he bore his remains to Rome with all piety and reverence, and buried him in the gardens of Domitia; moreover, though all opposed the measure, he had him placed among the deified.² On his wife Faustina he permitted the senate to bestow the name of Augusta,³ and for himself accepted the surname Pius.⁴ The statues decreed for his father, mother, grandparents and brothers, then dead, he accepted readily; nor did he refuse the circus-games ordered for his birthday,⁵ though he did refuse other honours. In honour of Hadrian he set up a superb shield⁶ and established a college of priests.⁷

After his accession to the throne he removed none of the men whom Hadrian had appointed to office, and, indeed, was so steadfast and loyal that he retained good men in the government of provinces for terms of seven and even nine years. He waged a number of wars, but all of them through his legates. For Lollius Urbicus,⁸ his legate, overcame the Britons⁹ and built a second wall, one of turf,¹⁰ after driving back the barbarians. Through other legates or governors, he forced the Moors to sue for peace,¹¹ and

340. The victory is commemorated on coins with the legend *Britannia* and designs signifying a victory; see Cohen, ii⁴. p. 281 f., Nos. 113-116, 119. The revolt was begun by the Brigantes, who lived just south of Hadrian's wall; see Paus., viii. 43, 4.

¹⁰ It ran from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, a distance of 40 miles. It was constructed by the soldiers of three legions, the II. *Augusta*, the VI. *Victrix*, and the XX. *Valeria Victrix*; see *C.I.L.*, vii. p. 191-194. Severus replaced it by a stone wall; see *Sev.*, xviii. 2.

¹¹ The rebellion seems to have been in western Mauretania, the province of Mauretania Tingitana; see Paus., viii. 43,

ANTONINUS PIUS

Germanos et Dacos et multas gentes atque Iudaeos
 5 rebellantes contudit per praesides ac legatos. in
 Achaia etiam atque Aegypto rebelliones repressit
 VI. Alanos molientis saepe refrenavit. procuratores suos
 et modeste suscipere tributa iussit et excedentes
 modum rationem factorum suorum reddere praecepit
 nec umquam ullo laetatus est lucro, quo provincialis
 2 oppressus est. contra procuratores suos conquerente
 libenter audivit.
 3 Iis quos Hadrianus damnaverat in senatu indul-
 gentias petiit, dicens etiam ipsum Hadrianum ho-
 4 fuisse facturum. imperatorium fastigium ad summa
 civilitatem deduxit, unde plus crevit, recusantibus
 aulicis ministris, qui illo nihil per internuntios agent
 nec terrere poterant homines aliquando nec e-
 5 quae occulta non erant vendere. senatui tantum
 detulit imperator quantum, cum privatus esset, defer-
 6 sibi ab alio principe optavit. patris patriae nomen
 delatum a senatu, quod primo distulerat, cum ingen-

¹ So P corr.; *terdecenles* P¹.

3, and *C.I.L.*, iii. 5211-5215. It probably took place about 145, although it is argued by Bryant (*op. cit.* p. 71 f.) that it is to be placed in 152. The victory is commemorated in an inscription in Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi. 1208.

¹ This victory is also commemorated in the inscription *C.I.L.*, vi. 1208. The time of this campaign is set by Bryant (p. 52) as between 140 and 145.

² About 157. See Aristid., *Or.*, xiv, vol. i. 351 Dind., and *C.I.L.*, iii. 1416.

³ It is described by Aristides (*Or.*, xiv. i. 351 Dind.) as an outbreak of those who lived on the shore of the Red Sea. According to Joannes Malalas (p. 280 f. Bonn) Antoninus went in person to Alexandria at the time of the revolt, but this is almost certainly an error (cf. c. vii. 11).

⁴ This people lived in south-eastern Russia, between the Don and the Caspian Sea, and had made raids into Armenia and

crushed the Germans¹ and the Dacians² and many other tribes, and also the Jews, who were in revolt. In Achaëa also and in Egypt³ he put down rebellions and many a time sharply checked the Alani⁴ in their raiding. VI. His procurators were ordered to levy only a reasonable tribute, and those who exceeded a proper limit were commanded to render an account of their acts, nor was he ever pleased with any revenues that were onerous to the provinces. Moreover, he was always willing to hear complaints against his procurators.

He besought the senate to pardon those men whom Hadrian had condemned,⁵ saying that Hadrian himself had been about to do so. The imperial pomp he reduced to the utmost simplicity and thereby gained the greater esteem, though the palace-attendants opposed this course, for they found that since he made no use of go-betweens, they could in no wise terrorize men or take money for decisions about which there was no concealment.⁶ In his dealings with the senate, he rendered it, as emperor, the same respect that he had wished another emperor to render him when he was a private man. When the senate offered him the title of Father of his Country, he

Cappadocia in the time of Hadrian. They afterwards spread toward the west, and invaded the Empire by way of Moesia.

³See *Hadr.*, xxv. 8.

⁶Under those emperors who were careless in the announcement of decisions or in answers to petitions it was not unusual for a dishonest favourite or official to demand money from petitioners for securing a favourable answer; he would then either actually influence the emperor in his decision, or, more often, merely claim that a favourable decision had been secured by his own efforts, and demand the payment of the bribe. This practice was known as *fumos vendere*; see c. xi. 1; *Alex.*, xxiii. 8; xxxvi. 2.

ANTONINUS PIUS

7 gratiarum actione suscepit. tertio anno imperii sui
 Faustinam uxorem perdidit, quae a senatu consecrata
 est delatis circensibus atque templo et flaminicis et
 statu is aureis atque argenteis; cum etiam ipse hoc
 concesserit, ut imago eius cunctis circensibus ponere-
 8 tur, statuam auream delatam a senatu positam
 9 suscepit. M. Antoninum quaestorem consulenti
 10 petente senatu creavit. Annium Verum, qui postea
 dictus est Antoninus, ante tempus quaestorem desig-
 11 navit. neque de provinciis neque de ullis actibus
 quicquam constituit, nisi quod prius ad amicos rettulit,
 12 atque ex eorum sententia formas composuit. visus
 est sane ab amicis et cum privatis vestibus et domes-
 tica quaedam gerens.

VII. Tanta sane diligentia subiectos sibi populos
 rexit ut omnia et omnes, quasi sua essent, curaret.
 2 provinciae sub eo cunctae floruerunt. quadruplatores
 3 extincti sunt. publicatio bonorum rarior quam
 umquam fuit, ita ut unus tantum proscriberetur

¹ See *Hadr.*, vi. 4 and note. Pius accepted the title in 139, for it appears for the first time on coins of this year; e.g., Cohen, ii². p. 279, No. 98 f.

² Many coins were struck in her honour with the title *Diva Faustina*. The actual apotheosis is represented by her ascension to heaven on an eagle with the legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, ii². p. 427, Nos. 182-185.

³ On the *Sacra Via*, near the eastern end of the Forum. It is still standing and is used as the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. It was also dedicated to Antoninus after his death.

ANTONINUS PIUS VI. 7—VII. 3

first refused it,¹ but later accepted it with an elaborate expression of thanks. On the death of his wife Faustina, in the third year of his reign, the senate deified her,² and voted her games and a temple³ and priestesses and statues of silver and of gold. These the Emperor accepted, and furthermore granted permission that her statue be erected in all the circuses; and when the senate voted for a golden statue, he undertook to erect it himself. At the instance of the senate, Marcus Antoninus,^{140.} now quaestor, was made consul; also Annius Verus,⁴ who was afterwards entitled Antoninus, was appointed quaestor before the legal age.⁶ Never did he resolve on measures about the provinces or render decision on any question without previously consulting his friends,⁶ and in accordance with their opinions he drew up his final statement. And indeed he often received his friends without the robes of state and even in the performance of domestic duties.

VII. With such care did he govern all peoples under him that he looked after all things and all men as if they were his own. As a result, the provinces prospered in his reign, informers were abolished, the confiscation of goods was less frequent than ever before, and only one man was condemned as guilty of aspiring to the throne. This was Atilius

(l. xiii. 4), and the names of both Antoninus and Faustina appear in the inscription on the architrave (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1005).

⁴i.e., Lucius Verus.

⁵In the time of the empire the minimum age was twenty-five. Exceptions to this, however, were common in the case of members of the imperial family; see also the case of Marcus (*Marc.*, v. 6). Verus was made quaestor at the age of twenty-three; see *Verus*, ii. 11.

⁶Apparently, the members of his *consilium*; see *Hadr.*, ii. 9.

ANTONINUS PIUS

- 4 adfectatae tyrannidis reus, hoc est Atilius Titianus
senatu puniente, a quo conscios requiri vetuit, filio
eius ad omnia semper adiuto. periit et Priscianus
reus adfectatae tyrannidis, sed morte voluntaria. de
qua coniuratione quaeri vetuit.
- 5 Victus Antonini Pii talis fuit ut esset opulentia
sine reprehensione, parsimonia sine sordibus, et mensa
eius per proprios servos, per proprios aucupes pis-
6 catores ac venatores instrueretur. balneum, quo
usus fuisset, sine mercede populo exhibuit nec omnino
7 quicquam de vitae privatae qualitate mutavit. salaria
multis subtraxit, quos otiosos videbat accipere, dicens
nihil esse sordidius, immo crudelius, quam si rem
publicam is adroderet qui nihil in eam suo labore
8 conferret. unde etiam Mesomedi lyrico salarium
inminuit. rationes omnium provinciarum adprime
9 scivit et vectigalium. patrimonium privatum in
filiam contulit, sed fructus rei publicae donavit.
10 species imperatorias superfluas et praedia vendidit et
in suis propriis fundis vixit varie ac pro temporibus.
11 nec ulla expeditiones obiit, nisi quod ad agros suos
profectus est et ad Campaniam, dicens gravem esse
provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci.
12 et tamen ingenti auctoritate apud omnes gentes fuit,
cum in urbe propterea sederet, ut undique nuntios,
medius utpote, citius posset accipere.¹

¹ *al' anticipare* P corr.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xv. 6.

² *Hadr.*, vii. 4.

³ In view of this statement, it seems necessary to refuse credence to the assertion of Aristides (*Or.*, xxiii. i. 453 f. Dind.) and Malalas (p. 280 Bonn) that Antoninus went in person to Egypt and Syria; see note to c. v. 5.

ANTONINUS PIUS VII. 4-12

Titianus,¹ and it was the senate itself that conducted his prosecution,² while the Emperor forbade any investigation about the fellow-conspirators of Atilius and always aided his son to attain all his desires. Priscianus did indeed die for aspiring to the throne, but by his own hand, and about his conspiracy also the Emperor forbade any investigation.

The board of Antoninus Pius was rich yet never open to criticism, frugal yet not stingy ; his table was furnished by his own slaves, his own fowlers and fishers and hunters. A bath, which he had previously used himself, he opened to the people without charge, nor did he himself depart in any way from the manner of life to which he had been accustomed when a private man. He took away salaries from a number of men who held obvious sinecures, saying there was nothing meaner, nay more unfeeling, than the man who nibbled at the revenues of the state without giving any service in return ; for the same reason, also, he reduced the salary of Mesomedes, the lyric poet. The budgets of all the provinces and the sources of revenue he knew exceedingly well. He settled his private fortune on his daughter, but presented the income of it to the state. Indeed, the superfluous trappings of royal state and even the crown-lands he sold, living on his own private estates and varying his residence according to the season. Nor did he undertake any expedition³ other than the visiting of his lands in Campania, averring that the equipage of an emperor, even of one over frugal, was a burdensome thing to the provinces. And yet he was regarded with immense respect by all nations, for, making his residence in the city, as he did, for the purpose of being in a central location, he was able to receive messages from every quarter with equal speed.

ANTONINUS PIUS

VIII. Congiarium populo dedit, militibus donativum
 addidit. puellas alimentarias in honorem Faustinae
 2 Faustianas constituit. opera eius haec exstant
 Romae templum Hadriani, honori patris dicatum
 Graecostadium post incendium restitutum, instaura-
 tum Amphitheatrum, sepulchrum Hadriani, templum
 3 Agrippae, Pons Sublicius, Phari restitutio, Caieta-
 portus, Tarracinensis portus restitutio, lavaerum
 Ostiense, Antiatum aquae ductus, templa Lanuviana
 4 multas etiam civitates adjuvit pecunia, ut opera ve-
 nova facerent vel vetera restituerent, ita ut et magis-
 tratus adjuvaret et senatores urbis ad functiones suas
 5 Hereditates eorum qui filios habebant repudiavit
 primus constituit, ne poenae causa legatum relictum
 6 maneret. successorem viventi bono iudici nulli dedi-

¹ On nine different occasions, according to coins with the legend *Liberalitas*; see Cohen, ii², p. 316-322, Nos. 480-592.

² In 145, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Faustina to Marcus; see c. x. 2.

³ Similar endowments for destitute children had been made by Nerva (Aur. Vict., *Epit.*, xii. 4) and by Trajan (Dig. lxviii. 5, and *C.I.L.*, xi. 1146). This memorial to Faustina was commemorated on coins with the legend *Puella Faustinianae*; see Cohen, ii², p. 433, Nos. 261-263. A similar endowment in memory of the younger Faustina was established by Marcus; see *Marc.*, xxvi. 6.

⁴ Situated in the Campus Martius, probably not far from the Pantheon. It is represented as an octastyle temple on coin of 151; see Cohen, ii², p. 330, No. 618. The temple was probably dedicated in 145; see *Verus*, iii. 1.

⁵ Probably the Graecostasis. It was a sort of platform between the Senate-house and the Rostra, used by envoys from foreign nations; see Varro, *Ling. Lat.*, v. 155.

⁶ See c. ix. i.

⁷ i.e. the Colosseum.

⁸ See *Hadr.*, xix. 11 and note.

⁹ If this reading is correct the Pantheon must be meant; see note to *Hadr.*, xix. 10. However, perhaps it is an error.

ANTONINUS PIUS VIII. 2-6

VIII. He gave largess to the people,¹ and, in addition, a donation to the soldiers,² and founded an order of destitute girls, called *Faustinianae*³ in honour of Faustina. Of the public works that were constructed by him the following remain to-day: the temple of Hadrian⁴ at Rome, so called in honour of his father, the *Græcostadium*,⁵ restored by him after its burning;⁶ the Amphitheatre,⁷ repaired by him, the tomb of Hadrian,⁸ the temple of Agrippa,⁹ and the *Pons Sublicius*,¹⁰ also the *Pharus*, the port at Caieta, and the port at Tarracina, all of which he restored, the bath at Ostia,¹¹ the aqueduct at Antium, and the temples at Lanuvium. Besides all this, he helped many communities¹² to erect new buildings and to restore the old; and he even gave pecuniary aid to Roman magistrates and senators to assist them in the performance of their duties.

He declined legacies from those who had children of their own and was the first to establish the rule that bequests made under fear of penalty¹³ should not be valid. Never did he appoint a successor to a worthy magistrate while yet alive, except in the case

for *Templum Augusti*, the restoration of which is commemorated on coins of Pius; see Cohen, ii², p. 270, Nos. 1-12.

¹⁰ The earliest, and for a long time the only, bridge across the Tiber. It was built of piles, and after the construction of other bridges was preserved for religious and sentimental reasons. Its site was near the Forum Boarium, now the Piazza della Bocca di Verità.

¹¹ This had been promised by Hadrian; see the dedicatory inscription, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 98 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 334.

¹² For a list see Bryant, p. 116 f.

¹³ Apparently an allusion to the law which provided that a senator must leave a specified sum to the public treasury (or to the emperor). This was rescinded by Pius; see Zonaras, xii. 1, p. 593 D., and Malalas, xi. p. 281 Dind.

ANTONINUS PIUS

7 nisi Orfito praefecto urbi, sed petenti. nam Gavius
 Maximus praefectus praetorii usque ad vicensimum
 annum sub eo pervenit, vir severissimus, cui Tattius
 8 Maximus successit. in cuius demortui locum duos
 praefectos substituit Fabium Cornelium Repentinum
 9 et Furium Victorinum.¹ sed Repentinus fabula
 famosa² percussus est, quod per concubinam principis
 10 ad praefecturam venisset. usque adeo sub eo nullus
 percussus est senator, ut etiam parricida confessus in
 insula deserta poneretur, quia vivere illi naturae
 11 legibus non licebat. vini olei et tritici penuriam
 per aerarii sui damnum³ emendo et gratis populo
 dando sedavit.

IX. Adversa eius temporibus haec provenerunt:
 fames, de qua diximus, Circi ruina, terrae motus, quo
 Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia
 mirifice instauravit, et Romae incendium, quod tre-
 2 centas quadraginta insulas vel domos absumpsit. et

¹ So Borghesi and Hirschfeld; *Fabium Repentinum et Cornelium Victorinum* P. ² *fabula famosa* Novak; *famosa* P; *famosa voce* P corr.; *famosis* Peter. ³ So Peter; *damno* P.

¹ Several inscriptions set up in his honour are extant; according to these he was granted consular honours on his retirement; see *Hadr.*, viii. 7 and note, and c. x. 6.

² Commemorated in several inscriptions. He was prefect of the *vigiles*, the watchmen and firemen, in 156, and was advanced to the prefecture of the guard about 158.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, ix. 5.

⁴ For his death see *Marc.*, xiv. 5.

⁵ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 4.

⁶ It is said that 1112 persons were killed; see Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i. 146.

ANTONINUS VIII. 7—IX. 2

of Orfitus, the prefect of the city, and then only at his own request. For under him Gavius Maximus,¹ a very stern man, reached his twentieth year of service as prefect of the guard; he was succeeded by Tattius Maximus,² and at his death Antoninus appointed two men³ in his place, Fabius Cornelius Repentinus and Furius Victorinus,⁴ the former of whom, however, was ruined by the scandalous tale that he had gained his office by the favour of the Emperor's mistress. So rigidly did he adhere to his resolve that no senator should be executed in his reign,⁵ that a confessed parricide was merely marooned on a desert island, and that only because it was against the laws of nature to let such a one live. He relieved a scarcity of wine and oil and wheat with loss to his own private treasury, by buying these and distributing them to the people free.

IX. The following misfortunes and prodigies occurred in his reign: the famine, which we have just mentioned, the collapse of the Circus,⁶ an earthquake⁷ whereby towns of Rhodes and of Asia were destroyed—all of which, however, the Emperor restored in splendid fashion,—and a fire at Rome which consumed three hundred and forty tenements and dwellings.⁸ The town of Narbonne,⁹ the city of

¹ The earthquake which destroyed Rhodes occurred about 140; a description of it is given in an oration of Aristides (804 Dind.). The neighbouring island of Cos and the city of Stratonicea in Caria were also devastated. There seems to have been a second earthquake about 151, which devastated Bithynia, Lesbos, Smyrna and Ephesus.

² Mentioned also by Gellius, xv. 1, 2.

³ See *C.I.L.*, xii. 4342 and p. 521. Narbo Martius, which had received the status of a colony in 45 B.C., was the capital of the province of Gallia Narbonensis.

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Narbonensis civitas et Antiochense oppidum et Carthaginiense forum arsit. fuit et inundatio Tiberis, apparuit et stella crinita, natus est et biceps puer, et uno partu mulieris quinque pueri editi sunt. visus est in Arabia iubatus anguis maior solitis, qui se a cauda medium comedit. lues etiam in Arabia fuit. hordeum in Moesia in culminibus arborum natum est. quattuor praeterea leones mansueti sponte se capiendos in Arabia prae buerunt.

Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Lazii dedit. Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit. Abgarum regem ex orientis partibus sola auctoritate deduxit. causas regales terminavit. sellam regiam Parthorum regi repetenti, quam Traianus ceperat, pernegavit. Rhoemetaleen¹ in regnum Bosphoranum audito inter ipsum et curatorem² negotio remisit. Olbiopolitis contra Tauroscythas in Pontum auxilia misit et Tauroscythas usque ad dandos Olbiopolitis obsides vicit. tantum sane

¹ *rimethalcen* P. ² *Eupatorem* Cary, *Hist. des Rois du Bosphore*, p. 64 (ed. Berol.).

¹ Also included among his benefactions in Paus., viii. 43, 4.

² King of the Hiberi; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 9 and note. He had refused to come to meet Hadrian (*Hadr.*, xxi. 13), but now came to Rome with his wife; see Dio, lxi. 15, 3 = lxx. 2, 1 (Boissevain).

³ The Lazi lived on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea, south of the river Phasis (Rion).

⁴ Vologases III. He seems to have made preparations for a war against the Romans (*Marc.*, viii. 6), and troops were despatched to Syria *ob bellum Parthicum*; see *C.I.L.*, ix. 2457 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1076.

⁵ Of Osrhoene.

Antioch, and the forum of Carthage¹ also burned. Besides, the Tiber flooded its banks, a comet was seen, a two-headed child was born, and a woman gave birth to quintuplets. There was seen, moreover, in Arabia, a crested serpent larger than the usual size, which ate itself from the tail to the middle; and also in Arabia there was a pestilence, while in Moesia barley sprouted from the tops of trees. And besides all this, in Arabia four lions grew tame and of their own accord yielded themselves to capture.

Pharasmenes,² the king, visited him at Rome and showed him more respect than he had shown Hadrian. He appointed Pacorus king of the Lazi,³ induced the king of the Parthians⁴ to forego a campaign against the Armenians merely by writing him a letter, and solely by his personal influence brought Abgarus the king⁵ back from the regions of the East. He settled the pleas of several kings.⁶ The royal throne of the Parthians, which Trajan had captured, he refused to return when their king asked for it,⁷ and after hearing the dispute between Rhoemetaces⁸ and the imperial commissioner, sent the former back his kingdom of the Bosphorus. He sent troops to the Black Sea to bring aid to Olbiopolis⁹ against the Tauroscythians and forced the latter to give hostages to Olbiopolis.

⁶ See the coins of 140-144 with the legends *Rex Armeniis datus* and *Rex Quadis datus*, Cohen, ii², p. 338 f., Nos. 686-689.

⁷ It had been promised by Hadrian to Osrhoes, the predecessor of Vologases; see *Had.*, xiii. 8.

⁸ T. Julius Rhoemetaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (the Crimea and the district east of the Strait of Kertch) from 131 to 153. Several inscriptions and coins of his are extant.

⁹ Olbia or Olbiopolis was a Greek city on the river Hypanis (Bug) in south-western Russia.

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auctoritatis apud externas gentes nemo habuit, cum semper amaverit pacem, eo usque ut Scipionis sententiam frequentarit, qua ille dicebat malle se unum civem servare quam mille hostes occidere.

X. Mensem Septembrem atque Octobrem Antoninum atque Faustinum appellandos decrevit senatus, ²sed id Antoninus respuit. nuptias filiae suae Faustinae, cum Marco Antonino eam coniungeret, usque ³ad donativum militum celeberrimas fecit. Verum ⁴Antoninum post quaesturam consulem fecit. cum Apollonium, quem e Chalcide acciverat, ad Tiberianam domum, in qua habitabat, vocasset, ut ei Marcum Antoninum traderet, atque ille dixisset "non magister ad discipulum debet venire, sed discipulus ad magistrum," risit eum, dicens, "facilius fuit Apollonio a Chalcide¹ Romam venire quam a domo sua in Palatium". cuius avaritiam etiam in² mercedibus ⁵notavit. inter argumenta pietatis eius et hoc habetur quod, cum Marcus mortuum educatorem suum fleret vocareturque³ ab aulicis ministris ab ostentatione pietatis, ipse dixerit: "Permittite, inquit, illi, ut homo sit; neque enim vel philosophia vel imperium tollit adfectus".

¹ *calchida* P. ² *in* omitted in P. ³ *uetareturque* P
corr.; *reuocareturque* Cas.

¹ Cf. Eutrop., viii. 8. According to Aur. Victor, *Epit.*, xv. 4, ambassadors from the Indi, Bactri, and Hyrcani came to him.

² She had been betrothed by Hadrian to Lucius Verus; see *Ael.*, vi. 9; *Marc.*, vi. 2; *Verus*, ii. 3.

³ A Stoic philosopher, the teacher of both Marcus and Verus; see *Marc.*, ii. 7; iii. 1; *Verus*, ii. 5. He is mentioned with gratitude by Marcus in *els éavrov* i. 8. His home

No one has ever had such prestige among foreign nations as he,¹ for he was ever a lover of peace, even to such a degree that he was continually quoting the saying of Scipio in which he declared that he would rather save a single citizen than slay a thousand foes.

X. When the senate declared that the months of September and October should be called respectively Antoninus and Faustinus, Antoninus refused. The wedding of his daughter Faustina, whom he espoused 145, to Marcus Antoninus,² he made most noteworthy, even to the extent of giving a donative to the soldiers. He made Verus Antoninus consul after his quaestor-154. ship. On one occasion, he sent word to Apollonius,³ whom he had summoned from Chalcis, to come to the House of Tiberius⁴ (where at the time he was staying) in order that he might put Marcus Antoninus in his charge, but Apollonius replied "The master ought not come to the pupil, but the pupil to the master". Whereupon the Emperor ridiculed him, saying "It was easier, then, for Apollonius to come to Rome from Chalcis than from his house to my palace". The greed of this man he had noticed even in the matter of his salary. It is related of him, too, as an instance of his regard for his family, that when Marcus was mourning the death of his tutor and was restrained by the palace servants from this display of affection, the Emperor said: "Let him be only a man for once; for neither philosophy nor empire takes away natural feeling".

was Chalcedon, according to *Marc.*, ii. 7, Nicomedia, according to Dio, lxxi. 35. 1; Chalcis is evidently an error.

⁴The Domus Tiberiana was at the northern end of the Palatine Hill; very extensive ruins are extant. It seems to have been the usual residence of Pius when at Rome; see *Marc.*, vi. 3; *Verus*, ii. 4.

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6 Praefectos suos et locupletavit et ornamentis con-
 7 sularibus donavit. si quos repetundarum damnavit,
 eorum liberis bona paterna restituit, ea tamen lege
 ut illi provincialibus redderent quod parentes ac-
 8.9 ceperant. ad indulgentias pronissimus fuit. edita
 munera, in quibus elephantos et corocottas et tigrides
 et rhinocerotes, crocodillos etiam atque hippopotamos
 et omnia ex toto orbe terrarum exhibuit. centum
 etiam leones cum tigridibus¹ una missione edidit.

XI. Amicis suis in imperio suo non aliter usus est
 quam privatus, quia et ipsi numquam de eo cum
 libertis per fumum aliquid vendiderunt; si quidem
 2 libertis suis severissime usus est. amavit histrionum
 artes. piscando se et venando multum oblectavit et
 deambulatione cum amicis atque sermone. vindemias
 3 privati modo cum amicis agebat. rhetoribus et
 philosophis per omnes provincias et honores et salaria
 detulit. orationes plerique alienas esse dixerunt,
 quae sub eius nomine feruntur; Marius Maximus eius
 4 proprias fuisse dicit. convivia cum amicis et privata
 5 communicavit et publica nec ullum sacrificium per
 6 vicarium fecit, nisi cum aeger fuit. cum sibi et filiis
 7 honores peteret, omnia quasi privatus fecit. fre-
 8 quentavit et ipse amicorum suorum convivia. inter

¹ *cum tigridibus*, in P before *exhibuit*, placed after *leones* by Peter, deleted by Salm. and Novak.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7.

² Probably in 148, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of his accession to power. Coins, evidently referring to these spectacles, were issued in 149 bearing the legend *Munificentia* and representations of a lion and an elephant; see Cohen, ii², p. 325, Nos. 562-566.

ANTONINUS PIUS X. 6—XI. 8

On his prefects he bestowed both riches and consular honours.¹ If he convicted any of extortion he nevertheless delivered up the estates to their children, providing only that the children should restore to the provinces what their fathers had taken. He was very prone to acts of forgiveness. He held games² at which he displayed elephants and the animals called corocotæ and tigers and rhinoceroes, even crocodiles and hippopotami, in short, all the animals of the whole earth; and he presented at a single performance as many as a hundred lions together with tigers.

XI. His friends he always treated, while on the throne, just as though he were a private citizen, for they never combined with his freedmen to sell false hopes of favours,³ and indeed he treated his freedmen with the greatest strictness. He was very fond of the stage, found great delight in fishing and hunting and in walks and conversation with his friends, and was wont to pass vintage-time in company with his friends in the manner of an ordinary citizen. Rhetoricians and philosophers throughout all the provinces he rewarded with honours and money. The orations which have come down in his name, some say, are really the work of others, according to Marcus Maximus, however, they were his own. He always shared his banquets, both public and private, with his friends; and never did he perform sacrifices by proxy except when he was ill. When he sought offices⁴ for himself or for his sons all was done as by a private individual. He himself was often present at the banquets of his intimates, and among other

¹ See note to c. vi. 4.

⁴ i.e. went through the formality of asking the senate to confer them.

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alia etiam hoc civilitatis eius praecipuum argumentum est quod, cum domum Homulli visens miransque columnas porphyreticas requisisset, unde eas haberet, atque Homullus ei dixisset, "cum in domum alienam veneris, et mutus et surdus esto," patienter tulit. cuius Homulli multa ioca semper patienter accepit.

- XII. Multa de iure sanxit ususque est iuris peritis Vindio Vero, Salvio Valente, Volusio Maeciano, Ulpio
2 Marcello et Diavoleno. seditiones ubicumque factas non crudelitate sed modestia et gravitate compressit.
3 intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit. sumptum muneribus gladiatorii instituit. vehicularium cursum summa diligentia sublevavit. omnium quae gessit et in senatu et per edicta rationem reddidit.
4 Periit anno septuagensimo, sed quasi adulescens desideratus est. mors autem eius talis fuisse narratur: cum Alpinum caseum in cena edisset avidius, nocte
5 reiecit atque alia die febre commotus est. tertia die, cum se gravari videret, Marco Antonino rem publicam et filiam praesentibus praefectis commendavit Fortunamque auream, quae in cubiculo

¹ M. Valerius Homullus, cos. in 152. He tried to arouse the suspicion of Pius against Lucilla, Marcus' mother; see *Marc.*, vi. 9.

² As incorporated in the *Digesta* and the *Codex* of Justinian, these deal with the questions of inheritances, adoption and guardianship, manumission, and the treatment of slaves by their masters.

³ Verus, Maecianus and Marcellus are frequently cited in the *Digesta*. Maecianus was Marcus' instructor in law; see *Marc.*, iii. 6.

⁴ Apparently an error for Iavolenus (Priscus), the celebrated jurist. He, however, was an older contemporary of Pliny,

things it is a particular evidence of his graciousness that when, on a visit at the house of Homullus,¹ he admired certain porphyry columns and asked where they came from, Homullus replied "When you come to another's house, be deaf and dumb," and he took it in good part. In fact, the jibes of this same Homullus, which were many, he always took in good part.

XII. A number of legal principles² were established by Antoninus with the aid of certain men, experts in jurisprudence, namely, Vindius Verus,³ Salvius Valens, Volusius Maecianus, Ulpius Marcellus, and Diavolenus.⁴ Rebellions, wherever they occurred, he suppressed⁵ not by means of cruelty, but with moderation and dignity. He forbade the burial of bodies within the limits of any city; he established a maximum cost for gladiatorial games; and he very carefully maintained the imperial post.⁶ Of everything that he did he rendered an account, both in the senate and by proclamation.

He died in the seventieth⁷ year of his age, but his^{7 Mar.,} loss was felt as though he had been but a youth^{161.} They say his death was somewhat as follows: after he had eaten too freely some Alpine cheese at dinner he vomited during the night, and was taken with a fever the next day. On the second day, as he saw that his condition was becoming worse, in the presence of his prefects he committed the state and his daughter to Marcus Antoninus, and gave orders that the golden statue of Fortune, which was wont to stand

and it can hardly be supposed that he was actually consulted by Pius.

¹ See c. v. 4-5.

² See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 5.

⁷ Really in his seventy-fifth year; cf. c. i. 8.

ANTONINUS PIUS

principum poni solebat, transferri ad eum ius
 6 signum¹ tribuno aequanimitatis dedit atque ita c
 versus quasi dormiret, spiritum reddidit apud Loru
 7 alienatus in febris nihil aliud quam de re publica et
 8 iis regibus quibus irascebatur locutus est. privat
 patrimonium filiae reliquit. testamento autem om
 suos legatis idoneis prosecutus est.

XIII. Fuit statura elevata decorus. sed cum es
 longus et senex incurvareturque, tiliaciis tabulis
 2 pectore positis fasciatur, ut rectus incederet. sei
 etiam, antequam salutatores venirent, panem sicc
 comedit ad sustentandas vires. fuit voce rauca
 sonora cum iucunditate.

3 A senatu divus est appellatus cunctis certa
 adnitentibus, cum omnes eius pietatem clementi
 ingenium sanctimoniam laudarent. decreti eti
 sunt omnes honores qui optimis principibus a
 4 delati sunt. meruit et flaminem et circenses
 templum et sodales Antoninianos solusque omni
 prope principum prorsus sine² civili sanguine
 hostili, quantum ad se ipsum pertinet, vixit et
 rite comparetur Numae, cuius felicitatem pietatem
 et securitatem caerimoniasque semper obtinuit.

¹ signum Novak (so Peter¹); signatum P; signum
 Peter² with Petschenig. ² sine omitted in P.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 3; see also *Sev.*, xxiii. 5.

² Cf. c. vii. 9.

³ See note to c. vi. 7.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3.

in the bed-chamber of the emperor,¹ be given to him. Then he gave the watchword to the officer of the day as "Equanimity," and so, turning as if to sleep, gave up the ghost at Lorium. While he was delirious with fever, he spoke of nothing save the state and certain kings with whom he was angry. To his daughter he left his private fortune,² and in his will he remembered all his household with suitable legacies.

XIII. He was a handsome man, and tall in stature ; but being a tall man, when he was bent by old age he had himself swathed with splints of linden-wood bound on his chest in order that he might walk erect. Moreover, when he was old, he ate dry bread before the courtiers came to greet him, in order that he might sustain his strength. His voice was hoarse and resonant, yet agreeable.

He was deified by the senate, while all men vied with one another to give him honour, and all extolled his devoutness, his mercy, his intelligence, and his righteousness. All honours were decreed for him which were ever before bestowed on the very best of emperors. He well deserved the flamen and games and temple³ and the Antonine priesthood.⁴ Almost alone of all emperors he lived entirely unstained by the blood of either citizen or foe so far as was in his power, and he was justly compared to Numa, whose good fortune and piety and tranquillity and religious rites he ever maintained.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

PHILOSOPHUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Marcō Antonino, in omni vita philosophanti viro et qui sanctitate vitae omnibus principibus antecellit, ²pater Annius Verus, qui in praetura decessit, avus Annius Verus, iterum¹ consul et praefectus urbi, adscitus in patricios² a Vespasiano et Tito censoribus, ³patruus Annius Libo consul, amita Galeria Faustina Augusta, mater Domitia Lucilla,³ Calvisii Tulli bis ⁴consulis filia, proavus paternus Annius Verus praetorius ex Succubitano municipio ex Hispania⁴ factus senator, proavus maternus Catilius Severus bis consul et praefectus urbi, avia paterna Rupilia Faustina, Rupilii Boni consularis filia, fuere.

¹ iterum P; tertium Petschenig. ² a principibus, following patricios in P, removed by Salm. ³ Lucilla Borghesi; Caluilla P, Peter. ⁴ spania P¹, Peter; yspania P corr.

¹ M. Annius Verus was consul three times, first under Domitian, again in 121 and 126.

² See *Pius*, i. 6.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

THE PHILOSOPHER

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Marcus Antoninus, devoted to philosophy as long as he lived and pre-eminent among emperors in purity of life, was the son of Annius Verus, who died while praetor. His grandfather, named Annius Verus also, attained to a second consulship,¹ was prefect of the city, and was enrolled among the patricians by Vespasian and Titus while they were censors. Annius Libo, a consul, was his uncle, Galeria Faustina Augusta,² his aunt. His mother was Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Calvisius Tullus, who served as consul twice.³ Annius Verus, from the town of Succuba in Spain, who was made a senator and attained to the dignity of praetor, was his father's grandfather; his great-grandfather on his mother's side was Catilius Severus,⁴ who twice held the consulship and was prefect of the city. His father's mother was Rupilia Faustina, the daughter of Rupilius Bonus, a man of consular rank.

¹First in 109; the second date is unknown.

⁴See note to *Hadr.*, v. 10.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Natus est Marcus Romae VI. kal. Maias in Monte
 Caelio in hortis avo suo iterum et Augure consulibus.
 6 cuius familia in originem recurrens a Numa probatur
 sanguinem trahere, ut Marius Maximus docet; item a
 rege Sallentino Malemnio, Dasummi filio, qui Lupias
 7 condidit. educatus est in eo loco in quo natus est et
 8 in domo avi sui Veri iuxta aedes Laterani. habuit et
 sororem natu minorem Anniam Cornificiam, uxorem
 9 Anniam Faustinam, consobrinam suam. Marcus
 Antoninus principio aevi sui nomen habuit¹ Catilii
 10 Severi, materni proavi. post excessum vero patris ab
 Hadriano Annius Verissimus vocatus est, post virilem
 autem togam Annius Verus. patre mortuo ab avo
 paterno adoptatus et educatus est.

II. Fuit a prima infantia gravis. at ubi egressus
 est annos qui nutricum foveantur auxilio, magnis prae-
 ceptoribus traditus ad philosophiae scita pervenit.
 2 usus est magistris ad prima elementa Euphorione
 litteratore et Gemino comoedo, musico Androne
 eodemque geometra. quibus omnibus ut discip-
 3 linarum auctoribus plurimum detulit. usus praeterea
 grammaticis, Graeco Alexandro Cotiaensi,² Latinis

¹ *et*, after *habet* in P, deleted by Petrarch.
 P; *Cotiaensi* Uhlig, Peter.

² *cotidianis*

¹ In Calabria, about 20 miles S. of Brundisium.

² *Annia Cornificia Faustina*. She was married to *Ummidius Quadratus*.

³ See *Pius*, i. 7.

⁴ Probably *M. Annius Catilius Severus*.

⁵ So also *Dio*, lxi. 21, 2. This name appears on Greek

MARCUS ANTONINUS I. 5—II. 3

Marcus himself was born at Rome on the sixth day 26 Apr., before the Kalends of May in the second consulship¹²¹ of his grandfather and the first of Augur, in a villa on the Caelian Hill. His family, in tracing its origin back to the beginning, established its descent from Numa, or so Marius Maximus tells, and likewise from the Sallentine king Malemnus, the son of Dasumus, who founded Lupiae.¹ He was reared in the villa where he was born, and also in the home of his grandfather Verus close to the dwelling of Lateranus. He had a sister younger than himself, named Annia Cornificia;² his wife, who was also his cousin, was Annia Faustina.³ At the beginning of his life Marcus Antoninus was named Catilius Severus⁴ after his mother's grandfather. After the death of his real father, however, Hadrian called him Annus Verissimus,⁵ and, after he assumed the toga virilis, Annus Verus. When his father died he was adopted and reared by his father's father.

II. He was a solemn child from the very beginning; and as soon as he passed beyond the age when children are brought up under the care of nurses, he was handed over to advanced instructors and attained to a knowledge of philosophy. In his more elementary education, he received instruction from Euphorion in literature and from Geminus in drama, in music and likewise in geometry from Andron; on all of whom, as being spokesmen of the sciences, he afterwards conferred great honours. Besides these, his grammarians were the Greek Alexander of Cotiaeum,⁶ and

coins, Eckhel, *D.N.*, vii. 69. It is perhaps an allusion to his love of frankness; see Fronto, *Epist.*, pp. 29, 34, 49.

⁶ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.* i. 10. His funeral oration was delivered by Aristides, *Or.*, xii.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

Trosio Apro et Pollione¹ et Eutychio Proculo Sic-
⁴censi. oratoribus usus est Graecis² Aninio³ Macro,
 Caninio Celere et Herode Attico, Latino Frontone
⁵Cornelio, sed multum ex his Frontoni detulit, cui
 et statuam in senatu petiit. Proculum vero usque ad
 proconsulatum provexit oneribus⁴ in se receptis.

⁶ Philosophiae operam vehementer dedit et quidem
 adhuc puer. nam duodecimum annum ingressus
 habitum philosophi sumpsit et deinceps tolerantiam,
 cum studeret in pallio et humi cubaret, vix autem
 matre agente instrato pellibus lectulo accubaret.

⁷usus est etiam Commodi⁵ magistro, cuius ei adfinitas

fuerat destinata,⁶ Apollonio Chalcedonio Stoico philo-
 III. sopho. tantum autem studium in eo philosophiae
 fuit ut adscitus iam in⁷ imperatoriam tamen ad
²domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret. audivit et
 Sextum Chaeronensem Plutarchi nepotem, Iunium
 Rusticum, Claudium Maximum et Cinnam Catulum,

¹ *polono* P; *Polione* Peter. ² *graeco* P. ³ So P corr.;
animo P¹. ⁴ *oneribus* Turnebus; *honoribus* P. ⁵ So
 Obrecht; *commodo* P. ⁶ *usus est et*, repeated before *Apoll.*
Chal. in P, removed by Obrecht. ⁷ in om. in P¹; in *im-*
peratoriam dignitatem P corr.

¹ Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, consul in 143. The foremost
 orator of his time, he had a school at Athens attended by a
 great number of students. He presented public buildings to
 very many of the cities of Greece, but particularly to his
 native city, Athens, where he built the Odeum on the S.E.
 slope of the Acropolis and rebuilt the Stadium, using Pentelic
 marble. His life by Philostratus is extant (*Vit. Soph.*, ii. 1).

² M. Cornelius Fronto, famous as an orator and man of

the Latins Trosius Aper, Pollio, and Eutychius² Proculus of Sicca; his masters in oratory were the Greeks Aninius Macer, Caninius Celer and Herodes Atticus,¹ and the Latin Cornelius Fronto.³ Of these he conferred high honours on Fronto, even asking the senate to vote him a statue; but indeed he advanced Proculus also—even to a proconsulship, and assumed the burdens⁴ of the office himself.

He studied philosophy with ardour, even as a youth. For when he was twelve years old he adopted the dress and, a little later, the hardiness of a philosopher, pursuing his studies clad in a rough Greek cloak and sleeping on the ground;⁴ at his mother's solicitation, however, he reluctantly consented to sleep on a couch strewn with skins. He received instruction, furthermore, from the teacher of that Commodus⁵ who was destined later to be a kinsman of his, namely Apollonius of Chalcedon,⁶ the Stoic; III. and such was his ardour for this school of philosophy, that even after he became a member of the imperial family, he still went to Apollonius' residence for instruction. In addition, he attended the lectures of Sextus of Chaeronea,⁷ the nephew of Plutarch, and of Junius Rusticus,⁸ Claudius Maximus,⁹ and Cinna Catulus,¹⁰ all Stoics. He also attended

letters, and for his correspondence with Pius, Marcus, and Verus.

² i.e. the giving of circus-games, the expense of which caused many to resign from the consulship; see Dio, lx. 27, 2. The cost of the games given by Fronto was borne by Pius; see Fronto, *Epist.*, p. 25.

⁴ At the advice of his teacher Diognetus; see *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 6.

⁵ i.e. Lucius Verus; see note to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.

⁶ See *Pius*, x. 4 and note.

⁷ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 9.

⁸ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 7. ⁹ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 15. ¹⁰ See *εἰς ἐαυτ.*, i. 13.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

³Stoicos. Peripateticae vero studiosum¹ audivit Clau-
 dium Severum et praecipue Iunium Rusticum, quem
 et reveritus est et sectatus, qui domi militiaeque
⁴pollebat, Stoicae disciplinae peritissimum; cum quo
 omnia communicavit publica privataque consilia, cui
 etiam ante praefectos praetorio semper osculum dedit,
⁵quem et consulem iterum designavit, cui post obitum
 a senatu statuas postulavit. tantum autem honoris
 magistris suis detulit ut imagines eorum aureas in
 larario haberet ac sepulchra eorum aditu hostiis flori-
⁶bus semper honoraret. studuit et iuri, audiens Lu-
⁷cium Volusium Maecianum. tantumque operis et
 laboris studiis impendit ut corpus adficeret atque in
⁸hoc solo pueritia eius reprehenderetur. frequentavit
 et declamatorum scholas publicas amavitque e² con-
 discipulis praecipuos senatorii ordinis Seium Fus-
 cianum et Aufidium Victorinum, ex equestri Bae-
⁹bium Longum et Calenum. in quos maxime liberalis
 fuit, et ita quidem ut quos non posset ob qualitatem
 vitae rei publicae praeponere, locupletatos teneret.

¹ So Peter; *studiosos* P; *studiosus* Cas., Jordan. ² om.
 by P¹; *ex* P corr.

¹ Perhaps the “ἀδελφός” Severus mentioned in *εἰς ἑαυτ.*
 i. 14.

² The custom had arisen that the emperor should bestow
 a ceremonial kiss of greeting upon the senators and the fore-
 most of the equestrian order; see Suet., *Otho*, vi; Plin., *Pan.*,
 23; Tac., *Ag.*, 40.

³ For the first time in 133, for the second in 162; he was
 also prefect of the city.

MARCUS ANTONINUS III. 3-9

the lectures of Claudius Severus,¹ an adherent of the Peripatetic school, but he received most instruction from Junius Rusticus, whom he ever revered and whose disciple he became, a man esteemed in both private and public life, and exceedingly well acquainted with the Stoic system, with whom Marcus shared all his counsels both public and private, whom he greeted with a kiss prior to the prefects of the guard,² whom he even appointed consul for a second term,³ and whom after his death he asked the senate to honour with statues. On his teachers in general, moreover, he conferred great honours, for he even kept golden statues of them in his chapel,⁴ and made it a custom to show respect for their tombs by personal visits and by offerings of sacrifices and flowers. He studied jurisprudence as well, in which he heard Lucius Volusius Maecianus, and so much work and labour did he devote to his studies that he impaired his health—the only fault to be found with his entire childhood. He attended also the public schools of rhetoricians. Of his fellow-pupils he was particularly fond of Seius Fuscianus⁵ and Aufidius Victorinus,⁶ of the senatorial order, and Baebius Longus and Calenus, of the equestrian. He was very generous to these men, so generous, in fact, that on those whom he could not advance to public office on account of their station in life, he bestowed riches.

¹ See the similar practice of Severus Alexander, *Alex.*, xxix. 2.

² Prefect of the city under Commodus (see *Pert.*, iv. 3), and consul for the second time in 188.

³ C. Aufidius Victorinus held a command in Germany (see c. viii. 8), was proconsul of Africa, and consul for the second time in 183. He married Fronto's daughter.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

IV. Educatus est¹ in Hadriani gremio, qui illum, ut supra diximus, Verissimum nominabat et qui ei² honorem equi publici sexenni³ detulit, octavo aetatis anno in Saliorum collegium rettulit. in saliatu omen accepit imperii: coronas omnibus in pulvinar ex more iacentibus aliae aliis locis haeserunt, huius velut manu⁴ capiti Martis aptata est. fuit in eo sacerdotio et praesul et vates et magister et multos inauguravit atque exauguravit nemine praeunte, quod ipse carmina cuncta didicisset.

⁵ Virilem togam sumpsit quinto decimo aetatis anno, statimque ei Lucii Ceionii Commodi filia desponsata⁶ est ex Hadriani voluntate. nec multo post praefectus Feriarum Latinarum fuit. in quo honore praeclarissime se pro magistratibus agentem et in⁷ conviviis Hadriani principis ostendit. post hoc patrimonium paternum sorori totum concessit, cum eum ad divisionem mater vocaret, responditque avi bonis se esse contentum, addens, ut et mater, si vellet, in sororem suum patrimonium conferret, ne inferior⁸ esset soror marito. fuit autem tanta indulgentia³

¹ est P corr.; esset P¹. ² equi publici sexenni Salm.; et qui publicis exenni (exenniis) P. ³ fuit autem vitae indulgentia, P, Peter; tanta vitae indulgentia Novak.

¹ c. i. 10.

² At the official banquet held by the Salii in some temple on their feast-day.

³ i.e., L. Aelius Caesar, the adopted son of Hadrian; see also c. vi. 2. The daughter was probably the Fabia mentioned in c. xxix. 10 and *Ver.*, x. 3-4.

⁴ Under the republic, this official was charged with the administration of Rome when both consuls were absent from the city conducting the Feriae Latinae on Mons Albanus. In the empire the office was continued, although only as a formality, and was given to young men of high rank and

MARCUS ANTONINUS IV. 2-8

IV. He was reared under the eye of Hadrian, who called him *Verissimus*, as we have already related,¹ and did him the honour of enrolling him in the equestrian order when he was six years old and appointing him in his eighth year to the college of the *Salii*. While in this college, moreover, he received an omen of his future rule; for when they were all casting their crowns on the banqueting-couch² of the god, according to the usual custom, and the crowns fell into various places, his crown, as if placed there by his hand, fell on the brow of Mars. In this priesthood he was leader of the dance, seer, and master, and consequently both initiated and dismissed a great number of people; and in these ceremonies no one dictated the formulas to him, for all of them he had learned by himself.

In the fifteenth year of his life he assumed the *toga virilis*, and straightway, at the wish of Hadrian, was betrothed to the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus.³ Not long after this he was made prefect of the city during the Latin Festival,⁴ and in this position he conducted himself very brilliantly both in the presence of the magistrates and at the banquets of the Emperor Hadrian. Later, when his mother asked him to give his sister⁶ part of the fortune left him by his father, he replied that he was content with the fortune of his grandfather and relinquished all of it, further declaring that if she wished, his mother might leave her own estate to his sister in its entirety, in order that she might not be poorer than her husband. So complaisant was he, moreover, that

often to princes of the imperial family; see Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 36, and Suet., *Nero*, vii.

⁵ See c. i. 8 and note.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

ut cogeretur nonnumquam vel in venationes pergere
vel in theatrum descendere vel spectaculis interesse.
9 operam praeterea pingendo sub magistro Diogneto¹
dedit. amavit pugilatum luctamina et cursum et
10 aucupatus et pila lusit adprime et venatus est. sed ab
omnibus his intentionibus studium eum philosophiae
abduxit seriumque et gravem reddidit, non tamen
prorsus abolita in eo comitate, quam praecipue suis,
mox amicis atque etiam minus notis exhibebat, cum
frugi esset sine contumacia, verecundus sine ignavia,
sine tristitia gravis.

V. His ita se habentibus cum post obitum Lucii
Caesaris Hadrianus successorem imperii quaereret, nec
idoneus, utpote decem et octo annos agens, Marcus
haberetur, amitae Marci virum Antoninum Pium
Hadrianus ea lege in adoptionem legit ut sibi
Marcum Pius adoptaret, ita tamen ut et Marcus
2 sibi Lucium Commodum adoptaret. sane ea die qua
adoptatus est Verus in somnis se umeros eburneos
habere vidit sciscitatusque, an apti essent oneri
3 ferundo, solito repperit fortiores. ubi autem com-
perit se ab Hadriano adoptatum, magis est deter-
ritus quam laetatus iussusque in Hadriani privatam
domum migrare invitus de maternis hortis recessit.
4 cumque ab eo domestici quaererent, cur tristis in
adoptionem regiam transiret, disputavit quae mala in
se contineret imperium.

¹ *Diogeneto* P, Peter.

¹ See *Had.*, xxiv. 1; *Ael.*, vi. 9; *Pius*, iv. 5. The state-
ment that Lucius Verus was adopted by Marcus (so also *Ael.*,
v. 12) is erroneous.

at times, when urged, he let himself be taken to hunts or the theatre or the spectacles. Besides, he gave some attention to painting, under the teacher Diognetus. He was also fond of boxing and wrestling and running and fowling, played ball very skilfully, and hunted well. But his ardour for philosophy distracted him from all these pursuits and made him serious and dignified, not ruining, however, a certain geniality in him, which he still manifested toward his household, his friends, and even to those less intimate, but making him, rather, austere, though not unreasonable, modest, though not inactive, and serious without gloom.

V. Such was his character, then, when, after the death of Lucius Cæsar, Hadrian looked about for a successor to the throne. Marcus did not seem suitable, being at the time but eighteen years of age; and Hadrian chose for adoption Antoninus Pius, the uncle-in-law of Marcus, with the provision that Pius should in turn adopt Marcus and that Marcus should adopt Lucius Commodus.¹ And it was on the day that Verus² was adopted that he dreamed that he had shoulders of ivory, and when he asked if they were capable of bearing a burden, he found them much stronger than before. When he discovered, moreover, that Hadrian had adopted him, he was appalled rather than overjoyed, and when told to move to the private home of Hadrian, reluctantly departed from his mother's villa. And when the members of his household asked him why he was sorry to receive royal adoption, he enumerated to them the evil things that sovereignty involved.

¹ *i.e.*, Marcus. The story of the dream is told also by Dio (lxxi, 36, 1).

MARCUS ANTONINUS

5 Tunc primum pro Annio Aurelius coepit vocari,
 quod in Aureliam, hoc est Antonini, adoptionis iure
 6 transisset. octavo decimo ergo aetatis anno adoptatus
 in secundo consulatu Antonini, iam patris sui, Hadri-
 ano ferente gratia aetatis facta quaestor est designatus.
 7 adoptatus in aulicam domum omnibus parentibus suis
 8 tantam reverentiam quantam privatus exhibuit. erat-
 que haud secus rei suae quam in privata domo parvus
 ac diligens, pro instituto patris volens agere dicere
 cogitare.

VI. Hadriano Baïis absumpto cum Pius ad advehen-
 das eius reliquias esset profectus, relictus Romae avo
 iusta implevit et gladiatorium quasi privatus quaestor
 2 edidit munus. post excessum Hadriani statim Pius
 per uxorem suam Marcum sciscitatus est et eum¹
 dissolutis sponsalibus, quae cum Lucii Ceionii Com-
 modi . . .² desponderi voluerat impari adhuc aetati,
 3 habita deliberatione velle se dixit. his ita gestis
 adhuc quaestorem et consulem secum Pius Marcum
 designavit et Caesaris appellatione donavit et sevirum

¹ et eum P; *utrum* A. Jaekel, Klio xii, p. 124, n. 1.

² Cas. saw a lacuna after *Commodi* (cf. *Marc.*, iv. 5, and *Ver.*, ii. 3), and supplied: *filia contrahere illum Hadrianus voluerat, Faustina illi offeretur, quod Verus, cui eam Hadrianus (reading et quum, and esset after aetate); Mommsen supplied: sorore fecerat filiam Faustinam cum hortata esset ut duceret, quam Hadrianus eidem Commodi; Ellis i, p. 400, et eum, diss. spons. L. Ceionii Commodi (i.e. Veri) quae cum filia fecerat, quam ei desponderi vol., etc.; see also Jaekel, loc. cit.*

¹ On his name after his adoption see note to *Had.*, xxiv. 2.

At this time he first began to be called Aurelius instead of Annius,¹ since, according to the law of adoption, he had passed into the Aurelian family, that is, into the family of Antoninus. And so he was adopted in his eighteenth year, and at the instance of Hadrian exception was made for his age² and he was appointed quaestor for the year of the second¹³⁹ consulship of Antoninus, now his father. Even after his adoption into the imperial house, he still showed the same respect to his own relatives that he had borne them as a commoner, was as frugal and careful of his means as he had been when he lived in a private home, and was willing to act, speak, and think according to his father's principles.

VI. When Hadrian died at Baiae³ and Pius departed to bring back his remains, Marcus was left at¹³⁸ Rome and discharged his grandfather's funeral rites, and, though quaestor, presented a gladiatorial spectacle as a private citizen. Immediately after Hadrian's death Pius, through his wife, approached Marcus, and, breaking his betrothal with the daughter of Lucius Ceionius Commodus,⁴ . . . he was willing to espouse one so much his junior in years, he replied, after deliberating the question, that he was. And when this was done, Pius designated him as his colleague in the consulship, though he was still only¹⁴⁰ quaestor, gave him the title of Cæsar,⁵ appointed him while consul-elect one of the six commanders of the

² See *Pius*, vi. 9-10 and note.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxv. 6; *Pius*, v. 1.

⁴ See c. iv. 5 and note.

⁵ See note to *Ael.*, i. 2. On coins of 139-140 he is called Aurelius Cæsar(ar) Aug(usti) Pii f(ilius); see Cohen, ii². p. 409 f., Nos. 1-40.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

turmis equitum Romanorum iam consulem designatum creavit et edenti cum collegis ludos seviraes ad-sedit et in Tiberianam domum transgredi iussit et aulico fastigio renitentem ornavit et in collegia sacer-dotum iubente senatu recepit. secundum etiam con-sulem designavit, cum ipse quartum pariter inierit, per eadem tempora, cum tantis honoribus occuparetur et cum formandus ad regendum statum rei publicae patris actibus interesset, studia cupidissime frequen-tavit.

6 Post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est atque im-perio extra urbem proconsulari addito iure quintae relationis. tantumque apud Pium valuit ut¹ num-quam quemquam sine eo facile promoverit. erat au-tem in summis obsequiis patris Marcus, quamvis non deessent qui aliqua adversum eum insurrerent, et prae ceteris Valerius Homollus, qui, cum Lucillam

¹ ut P corr., om. by P¹.

¹ The *seviri equitum Romanorum* were the six commanders of the equestrian order. They received their appointment from the emperor, and were usually young men of senatorial families who had not as yet been admitted to the senate and sometimes princes of the imperial house, as Marcus, and Gaius, grandson of Augustus (Zonaras, x. 35). Marcus had also the title of *princeps iuventutis* or honorary chief of the equestrian order (Dio, lxxi. 35, 5), a title bestowed by the acclamation of the order, with the consent or at the command of the emperor, upon the heir apparent.

² See note to *Pius*, x. 4.

³ Especially the four great colleges of which the emperor was always a member, i.e., the *pontifices*, the *augures*, the *quindecimviri sacris faciendis* or keepers of the Sibylline Books, and the *septemviri epulonum*, and probably also the *fratres arvales* and the *sodales* of the various deified emperors (see note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3). The son of the emperor usually

MARCUS ANTONINUS VI. 4-9

equestrian order¹ and sat by him when he and his five colleagues were producing their official games, bade him take up his abode in the House of Tiberius² and there provided him with all the pomp of a court, though Marcus objected to this, and finally took him into the priesthoods³ at the bidding of the senate. Later, he appointed him consul for a second term at 145 the same time that he began his fourth. And all this time, when busied with so many public duties of his own, and while sharing his father's activities that he might be fitted for ruling the state, Marcus worked at his studies⁴ eagerly.

At this time he took Faustina to wife⁵ and, after 145 begetting a daughter,⁶ received the tribunician power and the proconsular power outside the city,⁷ with the added right of making five proposals in the senate.⁸ Such was his influence with Pius that the Emperor was never quick to promote anyone without his advice. Moreover, he showed great deference to his father, though there were not lacking those who whispered things against him, especially Valerius Homullus,⁹

became a member of these colleges when he received the name Caesar.

¹ Especially in rhetoric and literature; see Fronto, p. 36.

² See *Pius*, x. 2. Coins struck in honour of the occasion bear the heads of Marcus and Faustina on the obverse and reverse respectively; see Cohen, ii², p. 127, Nos. 3-4.

³ Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina, born in 146, was the eldest of Marcus' children.

⁴ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

⁵ The newly-elected emperor was regularly empowered by *senatus consultum* to propose a definite number of measures in each meeting of the senate, these proposals to take precedence over any others. The number varied but never seems to have exceeded five; see *Pert.*, v. 6; *Alex.*, i. 3; *Prob.*, xii. 8.

⁶ Cf. *Pius*, xi. 8.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

matrem Marci in viridiario venerantem simulacrum Apollinis vidisset, insusurravit, "illa nunc rogat, ut diem tuum claudas et filius imperet". quod omnino
 10 apud Pium nihil valuit; tanta erat Marci probitas et VII. tanta in imperatorio participatu¹ modestia. existimationis autem tantam curam habuit ut et procuratores suos puer semper moneret, ne quid arrogantius facerent, et hereditates delatas reddens proximis
 2 aliquando respuerit. denique per viginti et tres annos in domo patris ita versatus ut eius cotidie amor
 3 cresceret, nec praeter duas noctes per tot annos ab eo mansit diversis vicibus.

Ob hoc Antoninus Pius, cum sibi adesse finem vitae videret, vocatis amicis et praefectis ut successorem eum imperii omnibus commendavit atque firmavit statimque signo aequanimitatis tribuno dato Fortunam auream, quae in cubiculo solebat esse, ad
 4 Marci cubiculum transire iussit. bonorum matronarum partem Ummidio² Quadrato, sororis filio, quia illa iam mortua erat, tradidit.

5 Post excessum divi Pii a senatu coactus regimen publicum capere fratrem sibi participem in imperio designavit, quem Lucium Aurelium Verum Commodum appellavit Caesaremque atque Augustum

¹ *participatum* P; *principatu* Peter, following B *principatum*.
² *Ummidio* Borghesi; *Mummio* P, Peter.

¹ Cf. *Pius*, xii. 5-6.

² M. Ummidius Quadratus, consul 167, was the son of Annia Cornificia Faustina (c. i. 8, and iv. 7).

who, when he saw Marcus' mother Lucilla worshipping in her garden before a shrine of Apollo, whispered, "Yonder woman is now praying that you may come to your end, and her son rule". All of which influenced Pius not in the least, such was Marcus' sense of honour and such his modesty while heir to the throne. VII. He had such regard for his reputation, moreover, that even as a youth he admonished his procurators to do nothing high-handed and often refused sundry legacies that were left him, returning them to the nearest kin of the deceased. Finally, for three and twenty years he conducted himself in his father's home in such a manner that Pius felt more affection for him day by day, and never in all these years, save for two nights on different occasions, remained away from him.

For these reasons, then, when Antoninus Pius saw that the end of his life was drawing near, having summoned his friends and prefects, he commended Marcus to them all and formally named him as his successor in the empire. He then straightway gave the watch-word to the officer of the day as "Equanimity," and ordered that the golden statue of Fortune, customarily kept in his own bed-chamber, be transferred to the bed-chamber of Marcus.¹ Part of his mother's fortune Marcus then gave to Ummidius Quadratus,² the son of his sister, because the latter was now dead.

Being forced by the senate to assume the govern- 7 MAR., 161
ment of the state after the death of the Deified Pius, Marcus made his brother his colleague in the empire, giving him the name Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus and bestowing on him the titles Cæsar and Augustus. Then they began to rule the state on

MARCUS ANTONINUS

6 dixit. atque ex eo pariter coeperunt rem publicam
regere tuncque primum Romanum imperium duos
Augustos habere coepit, cum imperium sibi relictum¹
cum alio participasset. Antonini mox ipse nomen
7 recepit. et quasi pater Lucii Commodi esset, et
Verum eum appellavit addito Antonini nomine filiam-
8 que suam Lucillam fratri despondit. ob hanc con-
iunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum
9 frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt. actis
igitur quae agenda fuerant in senatu pariter castra
praetoria petiverunt et vicena milia nummum singulis
ob participatum imperium militibus promiserunt et
10 ceteris pro rata. Hadriani autem sepulchro corpus
patris intulerunt magnifico exsequiarum officio. mox
iustitio secuto publice quoque funeris expeditus est
11 ordo. et laudavere uterque pro rostris patrem
flaminemque ei ex adfinibus et sodales ex amicissimis
Aurelianos creavere.

VIII. Adepti imperium ita civiliter se ambo egerunt
ut lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret, cum eos Marullus,
sui temporis mimographus, cavillando impune per-
2.3 stringeret. funebre munus patri dederunt.² dabat

¹ So Mommsen; *habere coepit lictum* P; *habere coepit . . . lictum* (*lictum cum alio participasset* perhaps a fragment of a marginal comment) Peter. ² This sentence Peter removed, as introduced from the margin of vii. 10.

¹ Coins of 161 and 162 show Marcus and Lucius standing with clasped hands and bear the legend Concord(ia) Augustor(um); see Cohen, iii², p. 8, Nos. 45-59.

² Annia Lucilla, his third child, born about 148.

³ Like the *puellae alimentariae Faustinae*, founded by Pius; see *Pius*, viii. 1.

⁴ *i.e.*, the centurions and other officers. Largess was also given to the populace; see coins of 161 with legend *Lib(eralitas)*

MARCUS ANTONINUS VII. 6—VIII. 2.3

equal terms,¹ and then it was that the Roman Empire first had two emperors, when Marcus shared with another the empire he had inherited. Next, he himself took the name Antoninus, and just as though he were the father of Lucius Commodus, he gave him the name Verus, adding also the name Antoninus; he also betrothed him to his daughter Lucilla,² though legally he was his brother. In honour of this union they gave orders that girls and boys of newly-named orders³ should be assigned a share in the distribution of grain.

And so, when they had done those things which had to be done in the presence of the senate, they set out together for the praetorian camp, and in honour of their joint rule promised twenty thousand aesterces apiece to the common soldiers and to the others⁴ money in proportion. The body of their father they laid in the Tomb of Hadrian⁵ with elaborate funeral rites, and on a holiday which came hereafter an official funeral train marched in parade. Both emperors pronounced panegyrics for their father from the Rostra, and they appointed a flamen for him chosen from their own kinsmen and a college of aurelian priests⁶ from their closest friends.

VIII. And now, after they had assumed the imperial power, the two emperors acted in so democratic manner that no one missed the lenient ways of Pius; for though Marullus, a writer of farces of the time, irritated them by his jests, he yet went unpunished. They gave funeral games for their father. And

Augustor(um) and representation of the two emperors standing in front of a recipient (Cohen, iii², p. 41, Nos. 401-406).

¹ See *Had.*, xix. 11.

² i.e., the *Sodales Antoniniani*; see *Pius*, xiii. 4, and note *Had.*, xxvii. 3.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

se Marcus totum et philosophiae, amorem civium ad-
 4 fectans. sed interpellavit istam felicitatem securita-
 temque imperatoris prima Tiberis inundatio, quae sub
 illis gravissima fuit. quae res et multa urbis aedificia
 vexavit et plurimum animalium interemit et famem
 5 gravissimam peperit. quae omnia mala Marcus et
 6 Verus sua cura et praesentia temperarunt. fuit eo
 tempore etiam Parthicum bellum, quod Vologaesius
 paratum sub Pio Marci et Veri tempore indixit, fugato
 Attidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat.
 7 imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, et Chatti in
 8 Germaniam ac Raetiam inruperant. et adversus Bri-
 tannos quidem Calpurnius Agricola missus est, contra
 9 Chattos Aufidius Victorinus. ad Parthicum vero
 bellum senatu consentiente Verus frater est missus;
 ipse Romae remansit, quod res urbanae imperatoris
 10 praesentiam postularent. et Verum quidem Marcus
 Capuam usque prosecutus amicis comitantibus a senatu
 11 ornavit additis officiorum omnium principibus. sed
 cum Romam redisset Marcus cognovissetque Verum
 apud Canusium aegrotare, ad eum videndum con-
 tendit susceptis in senatu votis; quae, posteaquam

¹ Cf. the coins of 161 with the legend *Fel(icitas) Temp(orum)* (Cohen, iii², p. 21, Nos. 196-198).

² See *Pius*, ix, 6 and note.

³ This war, called officially *bellum Armeniacum et Parthi-
 cum*, arose, as was usually the case with wars between the
 Romans and the Parthians, in a struggle for the control of
 the buffer-state Armenia. After defeating Aelius Severianus,
 the governor of Cappadocia, at Elegeia, on the upper Eu-
 phrates, and annihilating his legion (Dio, lxxi. 2; Fronto,
Prin. Hist., p. 209), the Parthians established their candidate
 on the Armenian throne. Then followed the defeat of Cor-
 nelianus in 161.

⁴ E. of the Rhine N. and E. of the Taunus Mountains.

MARCUS ANTONINUS VIII. 4-11

Marcus abandoned himself to philosophy, at the same
 time cultivating the good-will of the citizens. But
 to interrupt the emperor's happiness¹ and repose,
 there came the first flood of the Tiber—the severest
 of their time—which ruined many houses in the city,
 killed a great number of animals, and caused a
 severe famine; all these disasters Marcus and
 Verus relieved by their own personal care and aid.
 At this time, moreover, came the Parthian war, which
 Domitian planned under Pius² and declared under
 Marcus and Verus, after the rout of Attidius Cornel-
 ius, then governor of Syria.³ And besides this,¹⁶¹
 a war was threatening in Britain, and the Chatti⁴ had
 burst into Germany and Raetia. Against the Britons
 Publius Agricola⁵ was sent; against the Chatti,
 Attidius Victorinus.⁶ But to the Parthian war, with
 the consent of the senate, Marcus despatched his
 brother Verus, while he himself remained at Rome,
 where conditions demanded the presence of an em-
 peror. Nevertheless, he accompanied Verus as far as
 Apulia,⁷ honouring him with a retinue of friends from
 the senate and appointing also all his chiefs-of-staff.
 When, after returning to Rome, he learned that
 his brother was ill at Canusium,⁸ he hastened to see him,
 and assuming vows in the senate, which, on his re-

Mentioned in British inscriptions as governor (*legatus
 Augusti pro praetore*) of the province of Britain. He after-
 wards held a command in the Marcomannic War.

See c. iii. 8.

Verus' departure took place in the spring of 162. It was
 commemorated by coins of Verus with the legends *Profectio
 Augusti* and *Fort(una) Red(ux)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 183 f.,
 132-141, and p. 180 f., Nos. 86-102.

In Apulia, modern Canosa. On Verus' illness see *Ver.*,

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Romam rediit audita Veri transmissione, statim red-
 12 didit. et Verus quidem, posteaquam in Syriam venit,
 in deliciis apud Antiochiam et Daphnen vixit armisque
 se gladiatoris et venatibus exercuit, cum per legatos
 bellum Parthicum gerens imperator appellatus esset,
 13 cum Marcus horis omnibus rei publicae actibus in-
 cubaret patienterque delicias fratris sed perinvitus ac
 14 nolens¹ ferret. denique omnia quae ad bellum erant
 necessaria Romae positus et disposuit Marcus et
 ordinavit.

IX. Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Sta-
 tium Priscum Artaxatis captis, delatumque Armenia-
 cum nomen utrique principum. quod Marcus per vere-
 2 cundiam primo recusavit, postea tamen recepit. pro-
 fligato autem bello uterque Parthicus appellatus est.
 sed hoc² quoque Marcus delatum nomen repudiavit,
 3 quod postea recepit. patris patriae autem nomen
 delatum fratre absente in eiusdem praesentiam

¹ Suggested by Peter in note; *et prope inuitus ac uolens*
 (nolens P corr.) P, Peter; *et prope non inuitus ac uolens*
 Novak. ² hoc P corr., om. by P¹.

¹ See also *Ver.*, vi. 8-vii. 1.

² After the capture of Artaxata by Statius Priscus; see c.
 ix. 1.

³ The title *Armeniacus* appears on Verus' coins of 163, to-
 gether with the representation of conquered Armenia; see
 Cohen, iii², p. 172, Nos. 4-6, and p. 203, Nos. 330-331.
 Marcus' coins, on the other hand, do not show it until 164;
 see Cohen, iii², p. 5, Nos. 5-8; p. 48, Nos. 466-471, etc. The
 capture of Artaxata enabled Rome to make her candidate,
 Soaemus (Fronto, p. 127), king of Armenia; this event was
 commemorated by coins of 164 with the legend *Rex Armeniis*
Datus; see *Ver.*, vii. 8, and Cohen, iii², p. 185 f., Nos. 157-165.

⁴ By the capture of Selencia and Otesiphon in 165; see
Ver., viii. 3, and Dio, lxxi. 2, 3. The title *Parthicus Maxi-*

turn to Rome after learning that Verus had set sail, he immediately fulfilled. Verus, however, after he had come to Syria, lingered amid the debaucheries of Antioch and Daphne and busied himself with gladiatorial bouts and hunting.¹ And yet, for waging the Parthian war through his legates, he was acclaimed Imperator,² while meantime Marcus was at all hours keeping watch over the workings of the state, and, though reluctantly and sorely against his will, but nevertheless with patience, was enduring the debauchery of his brother. In a word, Marcus, though residing at Rome, planned and executed everything necessary to the prosecution of the war.

IX. In Armenia the campaign was successfully prosecuted under Statius Priscus, Artaxata being taken, and the honorary name Armeniacus was given to each of the emperors.³ This name Marcus refused at first, by reason of his modesty, but afterwards accepted. When the Parthian war was finished,⁴ moreover, each emperor was called Parthicus; but this name also Marcus refused when first offered, though afterwards he accepted it. And further, when the title "Father of his Country" was offered him in his brother's absence, he deferred action upon it until the latter should be present.⁵ In the midst of this war he entrusted his daughter,⁶ who was about to be married and had already received her dowry, to the care of his sister, and, accompanying them himself as far as Brundisium, sent them to Verus together with

mus appears on Verus' coins of 165 (Cohen, iii², p. 188 f., Nos. 190-196), and on Marcus' coins of 166 (Cohen, iii², p. 86 f., Nos. 877-880).

³ It was finally taken by both Marcus and Lucius after the return of the latter in the summer of 166; see c. xii. 7.

⁶ Lucilla; see c. vii. 7, and *Ver.*, vii. 7.

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4 distulit. medio belli tempore et Civicam, patrum
Veri, et filiam suam nupturam commissam sorori suae
eandemque locupletatam Brundisium usque deduxit,
5 ad eum misit Romamque statim rediit, revocatus eorum
sermonibus qui dicebant Marcum velle finiti belli
gloriam sibimet vindicare atque idcirco in Syriam
6 proficisci. ad proconsulem scribit, ne quis filiae suae
iter facienti occurreret.

7 Inter haec liberales causas ita munivit ut primus iu-
beret apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque
civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricensimum diem
8 nomine imposito. per provincias tabulariorum publi-
corum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus
fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut, si forte
aliquis in provincia natus causam liberalem diceret,
9 testationes inde ferret. atque hanc totam legem de
adsertionibus firmavit aliasque de mensariis et auctioni-
bus tulit.

X. Senatum multis cognitionibus et maxime ad se
pertinentibus iudicem dedit. de statu etiam de-
2 functorum intra quinquennium quaeri iussit.¹ neque
quisquam principum amplius senatui detulit. in
senatus autem honorificentiam multis praetoriis et
consularibus privatis decidenda negotia delegavit,

¹ This sentence Peter¹, following Dirksen, transposed to
precede *senatum* . . . *dedit*.

¹ M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus, consul 157, a brother of L.
Aelius Cæsar.

² *i.e.*, of Asia. Verus met her at Ephesus; *Ver.*, vii. 7.

³ The officials in charge of the public treasury, kept in the
Temple of Saturn.

the latter's uncle, *Civica*.¹ Immediately thereafter he returned to Rome, recalled by the talk of those who said that he wished to appropriate to himself the glory of finishing the war and had therefore set out for Syria. He wrote to the proconsul,² furthermore, that no one should meet his daughter as she made her journey.

In the meantime, he put such safeguards about suits for personal freedom—and he was the first to do so—as to order that every citizen should bestow names upon his free-born children within thirty days after birth and declare them to the prefects of the treasury of Saturn.³ In the provinces, too, he established the use of public records, in which entries concerning births were to be made in the same manner as at Rome in the office of the prefects of the treasury, the purpose being that if any one born in the provinces should plead a case to prove freedom, he might submit evidence from these records. Indeed, he strengthened this entire law dealing with declarations of freedom,⁴ and he enacted other laws dealing with money-lenders and public sales.

X. He made the senate the judge in many inquiries and even in those which belonged to his own jurisdiction. With regard to the status of deceased persons, he ordered that any investigations must be made within five years.⁵ Nor did any of the emperors show more respect to the senate than he. To do the senate honour, moreover, he entrusted the settling of

¹ *e.g.*, see. c. x. 1.

² This principle was already in existence; Marcus limited it by the order that in case any person had been formally declared free-born, any investigation leading to a revision of this declaration could be made only during his life-time; see *Dig.*, xl. 15, 1.

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quo magis eorum cum exercitio iuris auctoritas cres-
 3 ceret, multos ex amicis in senatum adlegit cum
 4 aediliciis aut praetoriis dignitatibus. multis senatori-
 bus verum¹ pauperibus sine crimine dignitates tri-
 5 bunicias aediliciasque concessit. nec quemquam in
 6 ordinem legit, nisi quem ipse bene scisset. hoc
 quoque senatoribus detulit ut, quotiens de quorum
 capite esset iudicandum, secreto pertractaret atque ita
 in publicum proderet² nec pateretur equites Romanos
 7 talibus interesse causis. semper autem, cum potuit,
 interfuit senatui, etiamsi nihil esset referendum, si
 Romae fuit; si vero aliquid referre voluit, etiam de
 8 Campania ipse venit. comitiis praeterea etiam usque
 ad noctem frequenter interfuit neque umquam recessit
 9 de curia nisi consul dixisset "nihil vos moramur
 patres conscripti". senatum appellationibus a con-
 sule factis iudicem dedit.
 10 Iudiciariae rei singularem diligentiam adhibuit.
 fastis dies iudiciarios addidit, ita ut ducentos triginta
 dies annuos rebus agendis litibusque disceptandis con-
 11 stitueret. praetorem tutelarem primus fecit, cum
 ante tutores a consulibus poscerentur, ut diligentius
 12 de tutoribus tractaretur. de curatoribus vero, cum
 ante non nisi ex lege Plaetoria³ vel propter lasciviam

¹ So Novak; *senatibus vel pauperibus s. c. senatoribus* P; *equitibus vel pauperibus . . . senatoribus* Peter², incorrectly (cf. Mommsen, *RSt.* II³, p. 941, 2). ² *prodiret* P. ³ *Plaetoria* Jordan (cf. Savigny, *Opp. Misc.* II, 330); *Laetoria* P, Peter.

¹ See *Hadr.*, vii. 4 and note.

² This office was instituted before Verus' death in 169. The first holder was Arrius Antoninus, who is described in an inscription as *praetor cui primo iurisdictio pupillaris a sanctissimis imperatoribus mandata est* (*C.I.L.*, v. 1874 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1118).

MARCUS ANTONINUS X. 3-12

disputes to many men of praetorian and consular rank who then held no magistracy, in order that their prestige might be enhanced through their administration of law. He enrolled in the senate many of his friends, giving them the rank of aedile or praetor; and on a number of poor but honest senators he bestowed the rank of tribune or aedile. Nor did he ever appoint anyone to senatorial rank whom he did not know well personally. He granted senators the further privilege¹ that whenever any of them was to be tried on a capital charge, he would examine the evidence behind closed doors and only after so doing would bring the case to public trial; nor would he allow members of the equestrian order to attend such investigations. He always attended the meetings of the senate if he was in Rome, even though no measure was to be proposed, and if he wished to propose anything himself, he came in person even from Campania. More than this, when elections were held he often remained even until night, never leaving the senate-chamber until the consul announced, "We detain you no longer, Conscript Fathers". Further, he appointed the senate judge in appeals made from the consul.

To the administration of justice he gave singular care. He added court-days to the calendar until he had set 230 days for the pleading of cases and judging of suits, and he was the first to appoint a special praetor in charge of the property of wards,² in order that greater care might be exercised in dealing with trustees; for previously the indictment of trustees had been in the hands of the consuls. As regards guardians, indeed, he decided that all youths might have them appointed without being obliged to show cause therefor, whereas previously they were ap-

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vel propter dementiam darentur, ita statuit ut omnes adulti curatores acciperent non redditis causis.

XI. Cavit et sumptibus publicis et calumniis quadruplatorum intercessit adposita falsis delatoribus nota, delationes, quibus fiscus augeretur, contempsit. de alimentis publicis multa prudenter invenit. curatores multis civitatibus, quo latius senatorias tenderet dignitates, a senatu dedit. Italicis civitatibus famis tempore frumentum ex urbe donavit omnique frumentariae rei consuluit. gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit. temperavit etiam scaenicas donationes iubens ut quinos aureos scaenici acciperent, ita tamen ut nullus editor decem aureos egrederetur. vias¹ etiam urbis atque itinera² diligentissime curavit. rei frumentariae graviter providit.

6 Datis iuridicis Italiae consuluit ad id exemplum quo Hadrianus consulares viros reddere iura praeceperat. Hispanis exhaustis³ Italica adlectione contra Traiani quoque⁴ praecepta verecunde consuluit. leges

¹ vineas P¹; al' uias P corr. ² itinera Jordan, Novak; itinerum P, Peter. ³ exhaustit P. ⁴ Thus Ellis; contra tranique p. P¹; Traianique P corr.; contra iniqua p. Petschenig; Peter assumes a lacuna after contra.

¹ The *Lex Plaetoria de circumscriptione minorum annis XXV* was passed prior to 191 B.C.; it is mentioned in Plautus, *Pseud.*, 303. It aimed to protect persons under 25 from fraud, and it accordingly directed that such persons should apply to the praetor for guardians.

² The Twelve Tables provided that the *prodigus* and the *furiosus* should not administer their own property but be under guardians; see *Dig.*, xxvii. 10, 1, and *Cic.*, *de Inv.*, ii. 50, 148.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8.

⁴ These officials were appointed by the emperor to admini-

pointed only under the Plaetorian Law,¹ or in cases of prodigality or madness.²

XI. In the matter of public expenditures he was exceedingly careful, and he forbade all libels on the part of false informers, putting the mark of infamy on such as made false accusations. He scorned such accusations as would swell the privy-purse. He devised many wise measures for the support of the state-poor,³ and, that he might give a wider range to the senatorial functions, he appointed supervisors for many communities⁴ from the senate. In times of famine he furnished the Italian communities with food from the city; indeed, he made careful provision for the whole matter of the grain-supply. He limited gladiatorial shows in every way, and lessened the cost of free theatrical performances also, decreeing that though an actor might receive five aurei, nevertheless no one who gave a performance should expend more than ten. The streets of the city and the highways he maintained with the greatest care. As for the grain-supply, for that he provided laboriously. He appointed judges for Italy and thereby provided for its welfare, after the plan of Hadrian,⁵ who had appointed men of consular rank to administer the law; and he made scrupulous provision, furthermore, for the welfare of the provinces of Spain, which, in defiance of the policy of Trajan, had been exhausted by

ter the finances of communities in cases where mismanagement of the public funds had made such a measure necessary.

¹ See *Hadr.*, xxii. 13; *Pius*, ii. 11. The arrangement seems to have been given up by Pius; see Appian, *Bell. Civ.*, 38. Under Marcus ex-praetors were appointed to this office; see *C.I.L.*, v. 1874 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1118.

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etiam addidit de vicensima hereditatum, de tutelis libertorum, de bonis maternis et item de filiorum successionibus pro parte materna, utque senatores peregrini quartam partem in Italia possiderent. dedit praeterea curatoribus regionum ac viarum potestatem, ut vel punirent vel ad praefectum urbi puniendos remitterent eos qui ultra vectigalia quicquam ab aliquo
 10 exegissent. ius autem magis vetus restituit quam novum fecit. habuit secum praefectos, quorum et auctoritate et periculo semper iura dictavit. usus autem est Scaevola praecipue iuris perito.

XII. Cum populo autem non aliter egit quam est
 2 actum sub civitate libera. fuitque per omnia moderantissimus in hominibus deterrendis a malo, invitandis ad bona, remunerandis copia, indulgentia liberandis fecitque ex malis bonos, ex bonis optimos, moderate
 3 etiam cavillationes nonnullorum ferens. nam cum quendam Vetrasinum famae detestandae honorem petentem moneret, ut se ab opinionibus populi vindicaret, et ille contra respondisset multos, qui secum in arena pugnassent, se praetores videre, patienter
 4 tulit. ac ne in quemquam facile vindicaret, praetorem,

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xii. 4.

² The 5 % tax on inheritances had been instituted by Augustus. Under Caracalla it was temporarily raised to 10 %.

³ This was the *Senatus Consultum Orfitianum* of 178; see *Dig.*, xxxviii. 17.

⁴ Trajan had already ordered that candidates for public office must invest a third of their capital in Italian land; see *Plin.*, *Epist.*, vi. 19.

⁵ This marks the beginning of the change in the functions of the prefect of the guard from purely military to pre-eminently judicial. Under Severus and Alexander the office

levies from the Italian settlers.¹ Also he enacted laws about inheritance-taxes,² about the property of freedmen held in trust, about property inherited from the mother,³ about the succession of the sons to the mother's share, and likewise that senators of foreign birth should invest a fourth part of their capital in Italy.⁴ And besides this, he gave the commissioners of districts and streets power either themselves to punish those who fleeced anyone of money beyond his due assessment, or to bring them to the prefect of the city for punishment. He engaged rather in the restoration of old laws than in the making of new, and ever kept near him prefects with whose authority and responsibility he framed his laws.⁵ He made use of Scaevola also,⁶ a man particularly learned in jurisprudence.

XII. Toward the people he acted just as one acts in a free state. He was at all times exceedingly reasonable both in restraining men from evil and in urging them to good, generous in rewarding and quick to forgive, thus making bad men good, and good men very good, and he even bore with unruffled temper the insolence of not a few. For example, when he advised a man of abominable reputation, who was running for office, a certain Vetrasinus, to stop the town-talk about himself, and Vetrasinus replied that many who had fought with him in the arena were now prætors, the Emperor took it with good grace. Again, in order to avoid taking an easy revenge on any one, instead of ordering a

was held by the foremost jurists of Rome, Papinian, Ulpian, and Paullus.

⁶ As a member of his consilium (see *Hadr.*, viii. 9); Q. Cervidius Scaevola is often cited in the *Digesta*.

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- qui quaedam pessime egerat, non abdicare se praetura
 5 iussit, sed collegae iuris dictionem mandavit. fisco
 6 in causis compendii numquam iudicans favit. sane,
 quamvis esset constans, erat etiam verecundus.
- 7 Posteaquam autem e Syria victor rediit frater, patris
 patriae nomen ambobus decretum est, cum se Marcus
 absente Vero erga omnes senatores atque homines
 8 moderatissime gessisset. corona praeterea civica ob-
 lata est ambobus; petiitque Lucius ut secum Marcus
 triumpharet. petiit praeterea Lucius ut filii Marci
 9 Caesares appellarentur. sed Marcus tanta fuit
 moderatione ut, cum¹ simul triumphasset, tamen
 post mortem Lucii tantum Germanicum se vocaret,
 10 quod sibi bello proprio pepererat. in triumpho autem
 liberos Marci utriusque sexus secum vixerunt, ita
 11 tamen ut et puellas virgines veherent. ludos etiam
 ob triumphum decretos spectaverunt habitu trium-
 12 phali. inter cetera pietatis eius haec quoque moderatio
 praedicanda est: funambulis post puerum lapsum
 culeitas subici iussit. unde hodieque rete² praeten-
 ditur.
- 13 Dum Parthicum bellum geritur, natum est Mar-
 comannicum, quod diu eorum qui aderant arte
 suspensum est, ut finito iam Orientali bello Marco-

¹ cum om. in P.

² recte P¹; al' rete P corr.

¹ See c. ix. 3 and note.

² Of oak leaves, presented to a man who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen in battle.

³ M. Aurelius Commodus (b. 161), and M. Annianus Verus (b. 162-3). The ceremony took place on 12 October, 166; see *Com.*, i. 10; xi. 13. Their effigies appear on coins (Cohen, iii², p. 169 f.).

⁴ This title appears for the first time in inscriptions of 172;

prætor who had acted very badly in certain matters to resign his office, he merely entrusted the administration of the law to the man's colleague. The privy-purse never influenced his judgment in law-suits involving money. Finally, if he was firm, he was also reasonable.

After his brother had returned victorious from 166 Syria, the title "Father of his Country" was decreed to both,¹ inasmuch as Marcus in the absence of Verus had conducted himself with great consideration toward both senators and commons. Furthermore, the civic crown² was offered to both; and Lucius demanded that Marcus triumph with him, and demanded also that the name Caesar should be given to Marcus' sons.³ But Marcus was so free from love of display that though he triumphed with Lucius, nevertheless after Lucius' death he called himself only Germanicus,⁴ the title he had won in his own war. In the triumphal procession, moreover, they 166 carried with them Marcus' children of both sexes, even his unmarried daughters; and they viewed the games held in honour of the triumph clad in the triumphal robe. Among other illustrations of his unfailing consideration towards others this act of kindness is to be told: After one lad, a rope-dancer, had fallen, he ordered mattresses spread under all rope-dancers. This is the reason why a net is stretched under them to-day.

While the Parthian war was still in progress, the 166 Marcomannic war broke out, after having been postponed for a long time by the diplomacy of the men who were in charge there, in order that the Marco-

the probable date of its assumption was 15 October; see *Com.*, xi, 13, and cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 5.

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14 mannicum agi posset. et cum famis tempore populo insinuasset de bello, fratre post quinquennium reverso in senatu egit, ambos necessarios dicens bello XIII. Germanico imperatores. tantus autem terror belli Marcomannici fuit ¹ ut undique sacerdotes Antoninus acciverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit, Romam omni genere lustraverit retardatusque a ² bellica profectione ³ sit. celebravit et Romano ritu lectisternia per septem ⁴ dies. tanta autem pestilentia fuit ut vehiculis cadavera ⁵ sint exportata sarracisque. tunc autem Antonini leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt, quando quidem caverunt ne quis villae adfabricaretur ⁶ sepulchrum, quod hodieque servatur. ⁷ et multa quidem milia pestilentia consumpsit multosque ex proceribus, quorum amplissimis Antoninus ⁸ statuas conlocavit. tantaque clementia fuit ut et sumptu publico vulgaria funera iuberet efferri ⁹ et vano cuidam, qui diripiendae urbis occasionem cum quibusdam consciis requirens de caprifici arbore in Campo Martio contionabundus ignem de caelo lapsurum

¹ fuit P corr., om. by P¹. ² a om. in P. ³ Thus Madvig and Petschenig; *uelle abfrirearetur* P; *ne quis ubi uellet fabricaretur* s. Novak. ⁴ efferi Jordan; *et eo ferri* P; *ferri et eo ferri* P corr.

¹ Called officially *bellum Germanicum*; see C.I.L., vi. 1549 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1100.

² The Marcomanni and Quadi actually invaded Italy and laid siege to Aquileia; see Amm. Marc., xxix. 6, 1. Furius Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, who was sent to resist them, was killed and a portion of his army annihilated; see c. xiv. 5.

³ A very ancient purificatory ceremony, in which statues of the gods were placed on banqueting-couches in some public place and served with an offering on a table. According to tradition it was first celebrated in 399 B.C. in order to stay a plague; see Livy, v. 13, 5-6.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XII.*14—XIII. 6

mannic war¹ might not be waged until Rome was done with the war in the East. Even at the time of the famine the Emperor had hinted at this war to the people, and when his brother returned after five years' service, he brought the matter up in the senate, saying that both emperors were needed for the German war. XIII. So great was the dread of this Marcomannic war,² that Antoninus summoned priests from all sides, performed foreign religious ceremonies, and purified the city in every way, and he was delayed thereby from setting out to the seat of war. The Roman ceremony of the feast of the gods³ was celebrated for seven days. And there was such a pestilence,⁴ besides, that the dead were removed in carts and waggons. About this time, also, the two emperors ratified certain very stringent laws on burial and tombs, in which they even forbade any one to build a tomb at his country-place, a law still in force. Thousands were carried off by the pestilence, including many nobles, for the most prominent of whom Antoninus erected statues. Such, too, was his kindliness of heart that he had funeral ceremonies performed for the lower classes even at the public expense; and in the case of one foolish fellow, who, in a search with divers confederates for an opportunity to plunder the city, continually made speeches from the wild fig-tree on the Campus Martius, to the effect that fire would fall

⁴ It was supposed to have been brought from the East by the returning army of Verus (see *Ver.*, viii. 1-2), and it ravaged Europe as far as the Rhine; see *Amm. Marc.*, xxiii. 6, 24. It was still raging in 180 (see c. xxviii. 4, and *C.I.L.*, iii. 5567 of 182), and it seems to have broken out again with great violence under Commodus; see *Dio*, lxxii. 14, 3; *Herodian*, i. 12, 1-2.

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finemque mundi affore diceret, si ipse lapsus ex arbore in ciconiam verteretur, cum statuto tempore decidisset atque ex sinu ciconiam emisisset, perducto ad se atque confesso veniam daret.

XIV. Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores et Victualis et Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus, aliis etiam gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus. 2 nec parum profuit ista profectio, cum Aquileiam usque venissent. nam plerique reges et cum populis suis se retraxerunt et tumultus auctores interemerunt. 3 Quadi autem amisso rege suo non prius se confirmaturos eum qui erat creatus dicebant, quam id nostris 4 placuisset imperatoribus. Lucius tamen invitus profectus est, cum plerique ad legatos imperatorum 5 mitterent defectionis veniam postulantes. et Lucius quidem, quod amissus esset praefectus praetorio Furius Victorinus, atque ¹ pars exercitus interisset, redeundum esse censebat; Marcus autem fingere barbaros aestimans et fugam et cetera quae securitatem bellicam ostenderent, ob hoc ne tanti apparatus mole 6 premerentur, instandum esse ducebat. denique transcensis Alpibus longius processerunt composueruntque omnia, quae ad munimen Italiae atque Illyrici 7 pertinebant. placuit autem urgente Lucio, ut prae-

¹utque P.

¹ See note to c. xiii. 1.

² The war in Pannonia was prosecuted successfully, and after a victory the emperors were acclaimed *Imperatores* for the fifth time and gave honourable discharge to some soldiers; see *C.I.L.*, iii. p. 888 (dated 5 May, 167).

down from heaven and the end of the world would come should he fall from the tree and be turned into a stork, and finally at the appointed time did fall down and free a stork from his robe, the Emperor, when the wretch was hailed before him and confessed all, pardoned him.

XIV. Clad in the military cloak the two emperors ¹⁶⁶ finally set forth, for now not only were the Victuali and Marcomanni throwing everything into confusion, but other tribes, who had been driven on by the more distant barbarians and had retreated before them, were ready to attack Italy if not peaceably received. And not a little good resulted from that expedition, even by the time they had advanced as far as Aquileia, for several kings retreated, together with their peoples, and put to death the authors of the trouble. And the Quadi, after they had lost their king, said that they would not confirm the successor who had been elected until such a course was approved by our emperors. Nevertheless, Lucius went on, though reluctantly, after a number of peoples had sent ambassadors to the legates of the emperors asking pardon for the rebellion. Lucius, it is true, thought they should return, because Furius Victorinus, the prefect of the guard, had been lost, and part of his army had perished; ¹ Marcus, however, thinking that the barbarians were feigning flight and using other ruses which afford safety in war, held that they should persist in order that they might not be overwhelmed by the mere burden of their vast preparations. Finally, they crossed the Alps, and pressing further on, completed all measures necessary for the defence of Italy and Illyricum.² They then decided, at Lucius' insistence, that letters should first be sent

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missis ad senatum litteris Lucius Romam redire
8 via quoque¹, postquam iter ingressi sunt, sedens cum
fratre in vehiculo Lucius apoplexi arreptus periit.

XV. Fuit autem consuetudo Marco ut in circensium
spectaculo legeret audiretque ac subscriberet, ex quo
quidem saepe iocis popularibus dicitur lacessitus.

2 Multum sane potuerunt liberti sub Marco et Veri
Geminas et Agaclytus.

3 Tanta autem sanctitatis fuit Marcus ut Veri viti
et celaverit et defenderit, cum ei vehementissime dis
plicerent,² mortuumque eum divum appellaverit
amitasque eius et sorores honoribus et salariis decreti
sublevaverit atque provexerit sacrisque eum³ plurimi

4 honoraverit. flaminem et Antoninianos sodales e
omnes honores qui divis habentur eidem dedicavit

5 nemo est principum, quem non gravis fama perstrin
gat, usque adeo ut etiam Marcus in sermonem venerit
quod Verum vel veneno ita tulerit ut parte culti
veneno lita vulvam inciderit, venenatam partem fratris

6 edendam propinans et sibi innoxiam reservans, ve
certe per medicum Posidippum, qui ei sanguinem in
tempestive dicitur emisisse. Cassius post mortem
Veri a Marco descivit.⁴

¹ Thus Bitschofsky; *via quoque* P; *viaque* Salm., Peter

² *displiceret* P, but cf. c. xvi. 4. ³ *cum* P¹; *vel eum* P cor

⁴ *Cassius . . . descivit* probably from margin of c. xxiv. 5.

¹ In 169 at Altinum in Venetia; see *Ver.*, ix. 10-11.

² Cf. *Ver.*, ix. 3.

³ The section of the *vita* from this point through c. xix.
a later interpolation; see *Intro.*, p. xxii.

⁴ Cf. c. xx. 1-2, and the coins of *Divus Verus* with the
legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iii³, p. 176 f., Nos. 53-59.

⁵ Cf. c. xx. 5.

⁶ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3, and *Pius*, xiii. 4. The
priesthood was now called *sodales Antoniniani Veriani*, after

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ahead to the senate and that Lucius should then return to Rome. But on the way, after they had set out upon their journey, Lucius died from a stroke of apoplexy¹ while riding in the carriage with his brother.

XV. It was customary with Marcus to read, listen to, and sign documents at the circus-games; because of this habit he was openly ridiculed, it is said, by the people.

The freedmen Geminus and Agaclytus² were very powerful in the reign of Marcus and Verus.

Such was Marcus' sense of honour,³ moreover, that although Verus' vices mightily offended him, he concealed and defended them; he also deified him after his death,⁴ aided and advanced his aunts and sisters by means of honours and pensions,⁵ honoured Verus himself with many sacrifices, consecrated a flamen for him and a college of Antonine priests,⁶ and gave him all honours that are appointed for the deified. There is no emperor who is not the victim of some evil tale, and Marcus is no exception. For it was bruited about, in truth, that he put Verus out of the way, either with poison—by cutting a sow's womb with a knife smeared on one side with poison, and then offering the poisoned portion to his brother to eat, while keeping the harmless portion for himself⁷—or, at least, by employing the physician Posidippus, who bled Verus, it is said, unseasonably. After Verus' death Cassius revolted from Marcus.⁸

Marcus' deification *Marciani* was added, after Pertinax' death *Helviani* (*Pert.*, xv. 4), after Severus' *Severiani* (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1365), after Alexander's *Alexandriani* (*Alex.*, lxiii. 4).

¹ Cf. *Ver.*, xi. 2; Dio, lxxi. 3, 1. According to another story, he was poisoned by Faustina; see *Ver.*, x. 1-5.

² In 175; see c. xxiv. 6 f.; *Av. Cass.*, vii. f.

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XVI. Iam in suos tanta fuit benignitate Marcus ut cum in omnes propinquos cuncta honorum ornamenta contulerit, tum in filium et quidem¹ scelestum atque impurum cito nomen Caesaris et mox sacerdotium statimque nomen imperatoris ac triumphi participationem et consulatum. quo quidem tempore sedente imperator filio² ad triumphalem currum in Circo pedes cucurrit.

3 Post Veri obitum Marcus Antoninus solus rem publicam tenuit, multo melior et feracior ad virtutes, 4 quippe qui nullis Veri iam impediretur aut simplicitatis calidaeque veritatis,³ qua ille ingenito vitio laborabat, erroribus aut iis qui praecipue displicebant Marco Antonino iam inde a primo aetatis suae tempore vel 5 institutis mentis pravae vel moribus. erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae, quam et per optimos quosque magistros acceperat et 6 undique ipse collegerat. nam et Hadrianus hunc eundem successorem paraverat, nisi ei aetas puerilis 7 obstitisset. quod quidem apparet ex eo quod generum Pio hunc eundem delegit, ut ad eum, dignum utpote virum, quandocumque Romanum perveniret imperium.

¹ et Commodum quidem P, Bitschofsky; Commodum removed by Jordan. ² So Peter; sine imperator filio P.

³ So Peter; simulatis callidae severitatis P.

¹ i.e., Commodus.

² See c. xii. 8 and note.

³ On 20 January, 175; see *Com.*, i. 10; xii. 1. On the priesthood held by sons of emperors see note to c. vi. 3.

⁴ On 27 November, 176; see *Com.*, ii. 4; xii. 4.

⁵ On 23 December, 176; see *Com.*, ii. 4; xii. 5. This, however, seems not to have been the triumph held by Marcus in celebration of his victory in Pannonia; see c. xvii. 3 and note.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XVI. 2-7

XVI. Such was Marcus' kindness toward his own family that he bestowed the insignia of every office on all his kin, while on his son,¹ and an accursed and foul one he was, he hastened to bestow the name of Caesar,² then afterward the priesthood,³ and, a little later, the title of imperator⁴ and a share in a triumph⁵ and the consulship. It was at this time¹⁷⁷ that Marcus, though acclaimed imperator, ran on foot in the Circus by the side of the triumphal car in which his son was seated.

After the death of Verus, Marcus Antoninus held the empire alone, a nobler man by far and more abounding in virtues, especially as he was no longer hampered by Verus' faults, neither by those of excessive candour and hot-headed plain speaking, from which Verus suffered through natural folly, nor by those others which had particularly irked Marcus Antoninus even from his earliest years, the principles and habits of a depraved mind. Such was Marcus' own repose of spirit that neither in grief nor in joy did he ever change countenance, being wholly given over to the Stoic philosophy, which he had not only learned from all the best masters,⁶ but also acquired for himself from every source. For this reason Hadrian would have taken him for his own successor to the throne had not his youth prevented. This intention, indeed, seems obvious from the fact that he chose Marcus to be the son-in-law of Pius,⁷ in order that the direction of the Roman state might some time at least come into his hands, as to those of one well worthy.

⁶ Cf. c. ii. 6—iii. 3.

⁷ This is an error, for Hadrian betrothed him to the daughter of Aelius Caesar; see c. iv. 5 and vi. 2.

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XVII. Ergo provincias post haec ingenti moderatione ac benignitate tractavit. contra Germanos res
² feliciter gessit. speciale ipse bellum Marcomannicum, sed quantum ¹ nulla umquam memoria fuit, cum virtute tum etiam felicitate transegit, et eo quidem tempore quo pestilentia gravis multa milia et popularium et
³ militum interemerat. Pannonias ergo, Marcomannis Sarmatis Vandalis simul etiam Quadis extinctis, servitio liberavit et Romae cum Commodo, quem iam Caesarem fecerat, filio, ut diximus, suo triumphavit.
⁴ cum autem ad hoc bellum omne aerarium exhausisset suum neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem provincialibus aliquid imperaret, in foro divi Traiani auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit vendiditque aurea pocula et crystallina et murrina, vasa etiam regia et vestem uxorem sericam et auratam, gemmas quin etiam, quas multas in reposito sanctiore
⁵ Hadriani reppererat. et per duos quidem menses haec venditio celebrata est, tantumque auri redactum ut reliquias belli Marcomannici ex sententia persecutus postea dederit potestatem emptoribus, ut, si qui vellet empta reddere atque aurum recipere, sciret licere. nec molestus ulli fuit qui vel non reddidit

¹ quanto P.

¹ See c. xiii. 8.

² This sentence sums up the war from Marcus' departure from Rome in October, 169 (cf. coins with *Profectio Augusti*, Cohen, iii², p. 51, No. 500) to the victory over the Sarmatians in 175, after which Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time and assumed the title *Sarmaticus*; see c. xxiv. 5 and Cohen, iii², p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925.

³ See c. xvi. 2. His triumph over the Germans and the Sarmatians was held in 176 after his return from the East; see c. xxvii. 3; Cohen, iii², p. 17, No. 154, and p. 18, No. 164; *C. I. L.* vi. 1014 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 374. Since the coins and the inscriptions date this triumph in the 30th year of the tri-

XVII. Toward the provinces from then on he acted with extreme restraint and consideration. He carried on a successful campaign against the Germans. He himself singled out the Marcomannic war—a war which surpassed any in the memory of man—and waged it with both valour and success, and that at a time when a grievous pestilence had carried away thousands of civilians and soldiers.¹ And so, by crushing the Marcomanni, the Sarmatians, the Vandals, and even the Quadi, he freed the Pannonias from bondage,² and with Commodus his son, whom he had previously named Caesar, triumphed at Rome, as we told above.³ When he had drained the treasury for this war, moreover, and could not bring himself to impose any extraordinary tax on the provincials, he held a public sale in the Forum of the¹⁶⁹ Deified Trajan⁴ of the imperial furnishings, and sold goblets of gold and crystal and murra,⁵ even flagons made for kings, his wife's silken gold-embroidered robes, and, indeed, even certain jewels which he had found in considerable numbers in a particularly holy cabinet of Hadrian's. This sale lasted for two months, and such a store of gold was realised thereby, that after he had conducted the remainder of the Marcomannic war in full accordance with his plans, he gave the buyers to understand that if any of them wished to return his purchases and recover his money, he could do so. Nor did he make it unpleasant for anyone who did or did not return what he had bought.

bunician power of Marcus (10 December, 175—9 December, 176), and since the triumph of Commodus was held on 23 December, 176, the statement that Commodus triumphed with his father, as made here and in *Com.*, ii. 4, must be erroneous.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

⁵ Probably a variety of agate; see J. Marquardt, *Privatleben d. Römer*², ii., p. 765 f.

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6 empta vel reddidit. tunc viris clarioribus permisit
ut eodem cultu quo et ipse vel ministris similibus
7 convivia exhiberent. in munere autem publico tam
magnanimus fuit ut centum leones una missione¹
simul exhiberet et sagittis interfectos.²

XVIII. Cum igitur in amore omnium imperasset
atque ab aliis modo frater, modo pater, modo filius, ut
cuiusque aetas sinebat, et diceretur et amaretur, octavo
decimo anno imperii sui, sexagensimo et primo vitae,
2 diem ultimum clausit. tantusque illius amor eo die
regii funeris³ claruit ut nemo illum plangendum cen-
suerit, certis omnibus quod ab diis commodatus ad
3 deos redisset. denique, priusquam funus conderetur,
ut plerique dicunt, quod numquam antea factum fuerat
neque postea, senatus populusque non divisus locis sed
in una sede propitium deum dixit.

4 Hic sane vir tantus et talis ac diis vita et morte
coniunctus filium Commodum dereliquit; qui, si felix
5 fuisset, filium non reliquisset. et parum sane fuit
quod illi honores divinos omnis aetas omnis sexus
omnis condicio ac dignitas dedit, nisi quod etiam
sacrilegus iudicatus est qui eius imaginem in sua
domo non habuit, qui per fortunam vel potuit habere
6 vel debuit. denique hodieque in multis domibus
Marci Antonini statuæ consistunt inter deos penates.
7 nec defuerunt homines qui somniis eum multa præ-

¹ *unam missionem* P; *una in missione* Peter. ² So P;
Peter, foll. Montinsen, *interfecit eos*. ³ So P; *regii funeris*
removed by Peter, eo by Jordan.

¹ See c. xxviii.

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At this time, also, he granted permission to the more prominent men to hold banquets with the same pomp that he used himself and with servants similar to his own. In the matter of public games, furthermore, he was so liberal as to present a hundred lions together in one performance and have them all killed with arrows.

XVIII. After he had ruled, then, with the goodwill of all, and had been named and beloved variously as brother, father, or son by various men according to their several ages, in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life he closed his last day.¹ Such love for him was manifested on the day^{17 Mar., 180} of the imperial funeral that none thought that men should lament him, since all were sure that he had been lent by the gods and had now returned to them. Finally, before his funeral was held, so many say, the senate and people, not in separate places but sitting together, as was never done before or after, hailed him as a gracious god.

This man, so great, so good, and an associate of the gods both in life and in death, left one son Commodus; and had he been truly fortunate he would not have left a son. It was not enough, indeed, that people of every age, sex, degree and rank in life, gave him all honours given to the gods, but also whosoever failed to keep the Emperor's image in his home, if his fortune were such that he could or should have done so, was deemed guilty of sacrilege. Even to-day, in fine, statues of Marcus Antoninus stand in many a home among the household gods. Nor were there lacking men who observed that he foretold many things by dreams and were thereby themselves enabled to predict events that did come to pass.

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8 dixisse augurantes futura et vera concinuerunt, unde etiam templum ei constitutum, dati sacerdotes Antoniniani et sodales et flamines et omnia quae aede sacrata¹ decrevit antiquitas.

XIX. Aiunt quidam, quod et veri simile videtur, Commodum Antoninum, successorem illius ac filium, non 2 esse de eo natum sed de adulterio, ac talem fabellam vulgari sermone contexunt: Faustina quondam, Pii filiam, Marci uxorem, cum gladiatores transire vidisset, unius ex his amore succensam, cum longa aegritudine 3 laboraret, viro de amore confessam. quod cum ad Chaldaeos Marcus rettulisset, illorum fuisse consilium, ut occiso gladiatore sanguine illius sese Faustina sub- 4 lavaret atque ita cum viro concumberet. quod cum esset factum, solutum quidem amorem, natum vero 5 Commodum gladiatorem esse, non principem, qui mille prope pugnas publice populo inspectante gladiatorias imperator exhibuit, ut in vita eius docebitur. 6 quod quidem veri simile ex eo habetur quod tam sancti principis filius iis moribus fuit quibus nullus lanista, nullus scaenicus, nullus arenarius, nullus postremo ex omnium dedecorum² ac scelerum conluvione con- 7 cretus. multi autem ferunt Commodum omnino ex adulterio³ natum, si quidem Faustina satis constet apud Caietam condiciones sibi et nauticas et gladiatorias elegisse. de qua cum diceretur Antonino Marco,

¹ So Peter with Madvig; *desacrata* P; *de sacratis* P corr.
² *decorum* P. ³ *adulterio* P, but cf. c. xix. 1 (see Lessing *Lex.*).

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, xxvii. 3, and c. xv. 4.

² See *Com.*, xi. 12; xii. 11.

³ For similar stories see c. xxiii. 7 and xxix. 1-3; Victor, *Caes.*, xvi. 2. Evidence to the contrary seems to be afforded

Therefore a temple was built for him and priests were appointed, dedicated to the service of the Antonines, both *Sodales*¹ and *flamens*, and all else that the usage of old time decreed for a consecrated temple.

XIX. Some say, and it seems plausible, that Commodus Antoninus, his son and successor, was not begotten by him, but in adultery; they embroider this assertion, moreover, with a story current among the people. On a certain occasion, it was said, Faustina, the daughter of Pius and wife of Marcus, saw some gladiators pass by, and was inflamed with love for one of them; and afterwards, when suffering from a long illness, she confessed the passion to her husband. And when Marcus reported this to the Chaldeans, it was their advice that the gladiator should be killed and that Faustina should bathe in his blood and thus couch with her husband. When this was done, the passion was indeed allayed, but their son Commodus was born a gladiator, not really a prince; for afterwards as emperor he fought almost a thousand gladiatorial bouts before the eyes of the people, as shall be related in his life.² This story is considered plausible, as a matter of fact, for the reason that the son of so virtuous a prince had habits worse than any trainer of gladiators, any play-actor, any fighter in the arena, or, in fine, anything brought into existence from the offscourings of all dishonour and crime. Many writers, however, state that Commodus was really begotten in adultery, since it is generally known that Faustina, while at Caieta, used to choose out lovers from among the sailors and gladiators.³ When Marcus Antoninus was told about

by Marcus' own affection and respect for her; see *εἰς εὐαγγ.*, i. 17, 7.

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- ut eam repudiaret, si non occideret, dixisse fertur
 9 "si uxorem dimittimus, reddamus et dotem". dos
 autem quid habebatur?¹ imperium, quod ille ab
 socero volente Hadriano adoptatus acceperat.
 10 Tantum sane valet boni principis vita sanctitas
 tranquillitas pietas ut eius famam nullius proximi
 11 decoloret invidia. denique Antonino, cum suos mores
 semper teneret neque alicuius insusurrone mu-
 taretur, non obfuit gladiator filius, uxor infamis;
 12 deusque etiam nunc habetur, ut vobis ipsis, sacratissime
 imperator Diocletiane, et semper visum est et videtur,
 qui eum inter numina vestra non ut ceteros sed
 specialiter veneramini ac saepe dicitis, vos vita et
 clementia tales esse cupere qualis fuit Marcus, etiamsi
 philosophia nec Plato esse possit, si revertatur in
 vitam.² et quidem haec breviter et congeste.

XX. Sed Marco Antonino haec sunt gesta post
 fratrem: primum corpus eius Romam devectum est
 2 et inlatum maiorum sepulchris. divini³ inde honores
 decreti. dein cum gratias ageret senatui quod fratrem
 consecrasset, occulte ostendit omnia bellica consilia sua
 3 fuisse, quibus superati sunt Parthi. addidit praeterea
 quaedam, quibus ostendit nunc demum se quasi a
 principio acturum esse rem publicam amoto eo qui

¹ So Petschenig; *dos autem quid habebatur nisi imperium*
 edd. ² *reueratori uita* P. ³ *in*, following *diuini*, deleted
 by P corr.; *inde* Peter.

¹ See c. xiv. 8. The interpolated section ends with c. xix.;
 see note to c. xv. 3.

² *i.e.*, the Tomb of Hadrian; see *Ver.*, xi. 1. His sepulchral
 inscription is *C.I.L.*, vi. 991 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 369.

³ Cf. c. xv. 3-4.

this, that he might divorce, if not kill her, he is reported to have said "If we send our wife away, we must also return her dowry". And what was her dowry? the Empire, which, after he had been adopted at the wish of Hadrian, he had inherited from his father-in-law Pius.

But truly such is the power of the life, the holiness, the serenity, and the righteousness of a good emperor that not even the scorn felt for his kin can sully his own good name. For since Antoninus held ever to his moral code and was moved by no man's whispered machinations, men thought no less of him because his son was a gladiator, his wife infamous. Even now he is called a god, which ever has seemed and even now seems right to you, most venerable Emperor Diocletian, who worship him among your divinities, not as you worship the others, but as one apart, and who often say that you desire, in life and gentleness, to be such a one as Marcus, even though, as far as philosophy is concerned, Plato himself, were he to return to life, could not be such a philosopher. So much, then, for these matters, told briefly and concisely.

XX. But as for the acts of Marcus Antoninus after the death of his brother,¹ they are as follows: First of all, he conveyed his body to Rome and laid it in the tomb of his fathers.² Then divine honours were ordered for Verus.³ Later, while rendering thanks to the senate for his brother's deification, he darkly hinted that all the strategic plans whereby the Parthians had been overcome were his own. He added, besides, certain statements in which he indicated that now at length he would make a fresh beginning in the management of the state, now that Verus, who

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4 remissior videbatur. nec aliter senatus accepit quam
 Marcus dixerat, ut videretur gratias agere quod
 5 Verus excessisset vita. omnibus deinde sororibus et
 adfinibus et libertis iuris et honoris et pecuniae
 plurimum detulit. erat enim famae suae curiosissi-
 mus, requirens ad verum, quid quisque de se diceret,
 emendans quae bene reprehensa viderentur.

6 Proficiscens ad bellum Germanicum filiam suam non
 decurso luctus tempore grandaevo equitis Romani
 filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit genere Antiochensi
 7 nec satis nobili (quem postea bis consulem fecit), cum
 filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. sed has nup-
 tias et Faustina et ipsa quae dabatur invitae habuerunt.

XXI. Cum Mauri Hispanias prope omnes vastarent,
 2 res per legatos bene gestae sunt. et cum per Aegyptum
 Bucolici milites gravia fecissent, per Avidium
 Cassium retunsi sunt, qui postea tyrannidem arripuit.
 3 sub ipsis profectionis diebus in secessu Praenestino
 agens filium, nomine Verum Caesarem, exsecto sub
 4 aure tubere septennem amisit. quem non plus quin-
 que diebus luxit consultusque etiam medios¹ actibus

¹ Thus Peter with Lipsius; *consolatusque etiam medicos* P.

¹ Cf. c. xv. 3.

² After his return to Rome with the body of Verus. He set out in October, 169; see note to c. xvii. 3.

³ Lucilla, the widow of Verus.

⁴ Cf. c. xxii. 11. The date is probably 172-173, see *Sev.*, ii. 4.

⁵ According to *Av. Cass.*, vi. 7, this statement is taken from Marius Maximus' Life of Marcus. The rebellion is somewhat more fully described in Dio, lxxi. 4. The Boukoloi, a tribe of herdsmen and brigands, lived in the N.W. of the Delta, not far from Alexandria. According to Dio's chronology, the rebellion happened after Marcus' assumption of the name *Germanicus*, i.e. in 172-173.

had seemed somewhat negligent, was removed. And the senate took this precisely as it was said, so that Marcus seemed to be giving thanks that Verus had departed this life. Afterwards he bestowed many privileges and much honour and money on all Verus' sisters, kin, and freedmen.¹ For he was exceedingly solicitous about his good reputation, indeed he was wont to ask what men really said of him, and to correct whatever seemed justly blamed.

Just before setting out for the German war,² and before the period of mourning had yet expired, he married his daughter³ to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a Roman knight, and now advanced in years, a native of Antioch, whose birth was not sufficiently noble (though Marcus later made him consul twice), since Marcus' daughter was an Augusta and the daughter of an Augusta. Indeed, Faustina and the girl who was given in marriage were both opposed to this match.

XXI. Against the Mauri, when they wasted almost the whole of Spain,⁴ matters were brought to a successful conclusion by his legates; and when the warriors of the Bucolici did many grievous things in Egypt,⁵ they were checked by Avidius Cassius, who later attempted to seize the throne.⁶ Just before his departure,⁷ while he was living in retreat at Praeneste, Marcus lost his seven-year-old son, by name Verus Caesar,⁸ from an operation on a tumour under his ear. For no more than five days did he mourn him; and even during this period, when consulted on public affairs he gave some time to them.

¹ See c. xxiv. 6 f; *Av. Cass.* vii. f.

² i.e., for the German war; see c. xx. 6.

³ M. Annius Verus; see note to c. xii. 8.

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- publicis reddidit. et quia ludi Iovis Optimi Maximi
 5 erant, interpellari eos publico luctu noluit iussitque,
 ut statuæ tantummodo filio mortuo decernerentur et
 imago aurea circensibus per pompam ferenda et ut
 saluari carmini nomen eius insereretur.
- 6 Instante sane adhuc pestilentia et deorum cultum
 diligentissime restituit et servos, quemadmodum bello
 Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit, quos volun-
 7 tarios exemplo volonum appellavit. armavit etiam
 gladiatores, quos obsequentes appellavit. latrones
 etiam Dalmatiae atque Dardaniae milites fecit.
 armavit et Diogmitas. emit et Germanorum auxilia
 8 contra Germanos. omni præterea diligentia paravit
 legiones ad Germanicum et Marcomannicum bellum.
 9 et, ne provincialibus esset molestus, auctionem rerum
 aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro divi Traiani, in qua
 præter vestes et pocula et vasa aurea etiam signa
 10 cum tabulis magnorum artificum vendidit. Mar-
 comannos in ipso transitu Danuvii delevit et prædam

¹ Probably the Ludi Capitolini, held on 15 October.

² Germanicus' name had been similarly inserted in this song after his death; see Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 82.

³ See c. xiii. 3.

⁴ The name given to the slaves who volunteered for military service after the defeat at Cannae in the Second Punic War; see Livy, xxii. 57, 11, and Festus, p. 370.

⁵ The district east of southern Dalmatia; it is now the southern portion of the kingdom of Serbia.

⁶ The Diogmitai were the military police maintained by the Greek cities. They were also called upon to perform military service—the suppression of brigands—in 368; see *Amm. Marc.*, xxvii. 9, 6.

⁷ These new legions were named *Legio II Pia* and *Legio*

And because the games of Jupiter Optimus Maximus¹ were then in progress and he did not wish to have them interrupted by public mourning, he merely ordered that statues should be decreed for his dead son, that a golden image of him should be carried in procession at the Circus, and that his name should be inserted in the song of the Salii.²

And since the pestilence³ was still raging at this time, he both zealously revived the worship of the gods and trained slaves for military service—just as had been done in the Punic war—whom he called Volunteers, after the example of the Volones.⁴ He armed gladiators also, calling them the Compliant, and turned even the bandits of Dalmatia and Dardania⁵ into soldiers. He armed the Diogmitae,⁶ besides, and even hired auxiliaries from among the Germans for service against Germans. And besides all this, he proceeded with all care to enrol legions⁷ for the Marcomannic and German wars. And lest all this prove burdensome to the provinces, he held an auction of the palace furnishings in the Forum of the Deified Trajan, as we have related,⁸ and sold there, besides robes and goblets and golden flags, even statues and paintings by great artists. He overwhelmed the Marcomanni while they were crossing the Danube,⁹ and restored the plunder to the pro-

III Concordia; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1980. They were afterwards called *Legio II* and *III Italica*; see Dio, iv. 24, 4.

² See c. xvii. 4-5.

³ This is probably the victory commemorated by coins of 172 with a representation of Marcus and his soldiers crossing a bridge, presumably over the Danube; see Cohen, iii², p. 99 f., Nos. 999-1001. Other coins of this year bear the legend *Germania Subacta*; see Cohen, iii², p. 23, Nos. 215-216. It was in this year too that Marcus took the name Germanicus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1450.

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- XXII. provincialibus reddidit. gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni Varistae Hermunduri et Quadi Suebi Sarmatae Lacringes et Buri hi alique¹ cum Victualis Osi Bessi Cobotes Roxolani Bastarnae Alani Peucini Costoboci. imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum.
- 2 magno igitur labore etiam suo gentes asperrimas vicit militibus sese imitantibus, ducentibus etiam exercitum legatis et praefectis praetorio, accepitque in deditionem Marcomannos plurimis in Italiam tractis.
- 3 Semper sane cum optimatibus non solum bellicas res sed etiam civiles, priusquam faceret aliquid, con-
- 4 tulit. denique sententia illius praecipua semper haec fuit: "Aequius est ut ego tot talium amicorum consilium sequar, quam ut tot tales amici meam unius
- 5 voluntatem sequantur". sane quia durus videbatur ex philosophiae institutione Marcus ad militiae labores
- 6 atque ad omnem vitam graviter carpebatur, sed male loquentibus² vel sermone vel litteris respondebat.
- 7 et multi nobiles bello Germanico sive Marcomannico immo plurimarum gentium interierunt. quibus omni-
- 8 bus statuas in foro Ulpio conlocavit. quare frequenter amici suaserunt, ut a bellis discederet et³ Romam veniret, sed ille contempsit ac perstitit nec prius reces-
- 9 sit quam omnia bella finiret. provincias ex procon-

¹ Some name is lost in these words: Petschenig suggests *Harique*. ² *loquentum* P (P corr. adds *dictis*); *loquentibus* (or *loquentum vel sermoni*) Peter. ³ et omitted in P.

¹ Cf. c. xxiv. 3.

² i.e., his *consilium*; see *Hadr.*, viii. 9 and note.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

⁴ But see c. xxiv. 5 and xxv. 1.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XXII. 2-9

vincials. XXII. Then, from the borders of Illyricum even into Gaul, all the nations banded together against us—the Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri and Quadi, the Suebians, Sarmatians, Lacringes and Buri, these and certain others together with the Victuali, namely, Osi, Bessi, Cobotes, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Alani, Peucini, and finally, the Costoboci. Furthermore, war threatened in Parthia and Britain. Thereupon, by immense labour on his own part, while his soldiers reflected his energy, and both legates and prefects of the guard led the host, he conquered these exceedingly fierce peoples, accepted the surrender of the Marcomanni, and brought a great number of them to Italy.¹

Always before making any move, he conferred with the foremost men² concerning matters not only of war but also of civil life. This saying particularly was ever on his lips: "It is juster that I should yield to the counsel of such a number of such friends than that such a number of such friends should yield to my wishes, who am but one". But because Marcus, as a result of his system of philosophy, seemed harsh in his military discipline and indeed in his life in general, he was bitterly assailed; to all who spoke ill of him, however, he made reply either in speeches or in pamphlets. And because in this German, or Marcomannic, war, or rather I should say in this "War of Many Nations," many nobles perished, for all of whom he erected statues in the Forum of Trajan,³ his friends often urged him to abandon the war and return to Rome. He, however, disregarded this advice and stood his ground, nor did he withdraw before he had brought all the wars to a conclusion.⁴ Several proconsular provinces he

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sularibus consulares aut ex consularibus proconsulares
 10 aut ¹ praetorias pro belli necessitate fecit. res etiam in
 Sequanis turbatas censura et auctoritate repressit.
 11 compositae res et in ² Hispania, quae per Lusitaniam
 12 turbatae erant. filio Commodo accersito ad limitem
 togam virilem dedit, quare congiarium populo divisit
 et eum ante tempus consulem designavit.

XXIII. Si quis umquam proscriptus est a praefecto
 2 urbi, non libenter accepit. ipse in largitionibus
 pecuniae publicae parcissimus fuit, quod laudi potius
 3 datur quam reprehensioni, sed tamen et bonis viris
 pecunias dedit et oppidis labentibus auxilium tulit et
 tributa vel vectigalia, ubi necessitas cogebat, remisit.

¹ Hirschfeld (*Wien. Stud.*, III, p. 116) would insert *ex procuratoriis* before *praetorias*. ² *in* omitted in P.

¹ *i.e.*, he took them from under the control of the senate and made them imperial provinces governed by legates of consular rank; see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9.

² *i.e.*, transferred from the control of the emperor to that of the senate.

³ Either the author fails to understand what he is trying to say here, or an omission in the text must be assumed, such as Hirschfeld's proposed insertion *ex procuratoriis*. He seems to mean that certain provinces now received as governors legates of praetorian rank (see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9). As there is no evidence for the supposition that any provinces were transferred from the "consular" class to the "praetorian," it must be assumed that the provinces in question were previously governed by equestrian *procurators*. Such a transfer from "procuratory" to "praetorian" provinces was actually made under Marcus in the cases of Raetia and Noricum, to which were sent the two new legions mentioned in c. xxi. 8.

⁴ Cf. c. xxi. 1.

changed into consular,¹ and several consular provinces into proconsular² or praetorian,³ according to the exigencies of war. He checked disturbances among the Sequani by a rebuke and by his personal influence; and in Spain,⁴ likewise, he quieted the disturbances which had arisen in Lusitania. And having summoned his son Commodus to the border of the empire, he gave him the toga virilis,⁵ in honour of which he distributed largess among the people,⁶ and appointed him consul before the legal age.⁷ 177.

XXIII. He was always displeased at hearing that anyone had been outlawed by the prefect of the city. He himself was very sparing of the public money in giving largess⁸—a fact which we mention rather in praise than in disparagement—but nevertheless he gave financial assistance to the deserving, furnished aid to towns on the brink of ruin,⁹ and, when necessity demanded, cancelled tribute or taxes.¹⁰ And

¹ See *Com.*, ii. 2; xii. 3; Dio, lxxi. 22, 2. - The ceremony took place on the Danube frontier immediately prior to Marcus' departure for Syria.

² Commemorated on coins of 175 with the legend *Liberaltas Aug(usti) VI*; see Cohen, iii², p. 43, Nos. 416-420.

³ Under the empire the minimum age for the consulship seems to have been 33. See also note to *Pius*, vi. 10.

⁴ Yet his coins record seven different largesses to the populace; see Cohen, iii², p. 41 f., Nos. 401-427. See also c. xxvii. 5 and note. His donation to the soldiers on his accession was unusually large (see c. vii. 9), but on another occasion he is said to have refused the army's request for a donation; see Dio, lxxi. 3, 3.

⁵ See also c. xi. 3. He also came to the relief of Smyrna when destroyed by an earthquake in 178; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2.

¹⁰ In 178 all arrears due the treasury or the privy-purse were cancelled; see Dio, lxxi. 32, 2. This was merely an application of the principle established by Hadrian; see note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

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4 absens populi Romani voluptates curari vehementer
5 praecepit per ditissimos editores. fuit enim populo
hic sermo, cum sustulisset ad bellum gladiatores, quod
populum sublati voluptatibus vellet cogere ad philo-
6 sophiam. iusserat enim ne mercimonia impedirentur,
7 tardius pantomimos exhibere nonis¹ diebus. de
amatis pantomimis ab uxore fuit sermo, ut superius
diximus. sed haec omnia per epistolas suas purgavit.
8 idem Marcus sederi in civitatibus vetuit in equis sive
vehiculis. lavacra mixta summovit. mores matro-
narum composuit diffuentes et iuvenum nobilium.
sacra Serapidis a vulgaritate Pelusiae² summovit.
9 fama fuit sane, quod sub philosophorum specie quidam
rem publicam vexarent et privatos, quod ille purgavit.

XXIV. Erat mos iste Antonino ut omnia crimina
minore supplicio quam legibus plecti solent puniret,
quamvis nonnumquam contra manifestos et gravium
2 criminum reos inexorabilis permaneret. capitales
causas hominum honestorum ipse cognovit, et quidem
summa aequitate, ita ut praetorem reprehenderet, qui

¹ nonis Salm.; non uotis P.
Novak.

² pelosiae P; Pelusiaca

¹ See c. xix.

² Cf. *Hadr.*, xviii. 10.

³ The Serapia, the annual festival of the Egyptian deity Serapis, was celebrated on 25 April; see Calendar of Philocalus (*C.I.L.*, i², p. 262). A festival called *Pelusia*, celebrating the annual overflow of the Nile, was held on 20 March; see Lydus, *de Mens.*, iv. 40. The statement of the biographer has been explained by Mommsen (*C.I.L.*, i², p. 313) as meaning that the customary licence of the Pelusia was limited in order to save the festival of Serapis from desecration. But in view of the interval between the dates this explanation is not altogether convincing; furthermore, licence is an unnatural meaning for *vulgaritas* and *sacra Serapidis* does not necessarily refer to the Serapia. The sentence seems rather

while absent from Rome he left forceful instructions that the amusements of the Roman people should be provided for by the richest givers of public spectacles, because, when he took the gladiators away to the war, there was talk among the people that he intended to deprive them of their amusements and thereby drive them to the study of philosophy. Indeed, he had ordered that the actors of pantomimes should begin their performances nine days later than usual in order that business might not be interfered with. There was talk, as we mentioned above,¹ about his wife's intrigues with pantomimists; however, he cleared her of all these charges in his letters. He forbade riding and driving within the limits of any city. He abolished common baths for both sexes.² He reformed the morals of the matrons and young nobles which were growing lax. He separated the sacred rites of Serapis from the miscellaneous ceremonies of the Pelusia.³ There was a report, furthermore, that certain men masquerading as philosophers had been making trouble both for the state and for private citizens; but this charge he refuted.

XXIV. It was customary with Antoninus to punish all crimes with lighter penalties than were usually inflicted by the laws; although at times, toward those who were clearly guilty of serious crimes he remained implacable. He himself held those trials of distinguished men which involved the death-penalty, and always with the greatest justice. Once, indeed, he rebuked a praetor who heard the pleas of accused men in too summary a fashion, and ordered

to mean that the rites of Serapis were isolated from the mass of Egyptian cults celebrated at the Pelusia; so also Wilcken, *Klio*, ix. p. 131 f.

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cito reorum causas audierat, iuberetque illum iterum cognoscere, dignitatis eorum interesse dicens ut ab
 3 eo audirentur qui pro populo iudicaret, aequitatem autem etiam circa captos hostes custodivit. infinitos
 4 ex gentibus in Romano solo conlocavit. fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit, suis pluvia impetrata cum siti laborarent.
 5 Voluit Marcomanniam provinciam, voluit etiam
 6 Sarmatiam facere et fecisset, nisi Avidius Cassius rebellasset sub eodem in Oriente; atque imperatorem se appellavit,¹ ut quidam dicunt, Faustina volente,
 7 quae de mariti valetudine desperaret. alii dicunt ementita morte Antonini Cassium imperatorem se
 8 appellasse, cum divum Marcum appellasset. et Antoninus quidem non est satis motus defectione
 9 Cassii nec in eius affectus saevit.² sed per senatum hostis est iudicatus bonaque eius proscripta per
 XXV. aerarium publicum. relicto³ ergo Sarmatico Marcomannicoque bello contra Cassium profectus est.
 2 Romae etiam turbae fuerunt, quasi Cassius absente Antonino adventaret. sed Cassius statim interfectus
 3 est caputque eius adlatum est ad Antoninum. Marcus tamen non exultavit interfectione Cassii caputque

¹ So P, which Lessing restores; *rebellasset sub eodem in oriente atque . . . appellasset* Peter. ² *nec eius affectus sui* P; restored by Peter from *Av. Cass.*, vii. 5. ³ *relecto* P.

¹ Cf. c. xxii. 2.

² In the war against the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi. 8-10. According to Dio, the thunder-storm was sent by Hermes at the prayer of an Egyptian magician. The Christian legend, on the other hand, declared that the storm was an answer to the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Fulminata, entirely composed of Christians; see Xiphilinus in Dio, lxxi. 9.

him to hold the trials again, saying that it was a matter of concern to the honour of the accused that they should be heard by a judge who really represented the people. He scrupulously observed justice, moreover, even in his dealings with captive enemies. He settled innumerable foreigners on Roman soil.¹ By his prayers he summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy, and successfully besought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst.²

He wished to make a province of Marcomannia and likewise of Sarmatia,³ and he would have done so had not Avidius Cassius just then raised a rebellion in the East.⁴ This man proclaimed himself emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina, who was now in despair over her husband's health; others, however, say that Cassius proclaimed himself emperor after spreading false rumours of Antoninus' death, and indeed he had called him the Deified. Antoninus was not much disturbed by this revolt, nor did he adopt harsh measures against Cassius' dear ones. The senate, however, declared Cassius a public enemy and confiscated his property to the public treasury. XXV. The Emperor, then, abandoning the Sarmatian and Marcomannic wars, set out against him. At Rome there was a Jul., 175 panic for fear that Cassius would arrive during Antoninus' absence; but he was speedily slain and his head was brought to Antoninus. Even then, Marcus did not rejoice at Cassius' death, and gave

¹ In 175, after a victory so decisive that Marcus was acclaimed Imperator for the eighth time, and took the title Sarmaticus; see Cohen, iii², p. 91 f., Nos. 916-925; *C.I.L.*, viii. 2276.

⁴ *Cf. Av. Cass.*, vii f.

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4 eius humari iussit. Maecianum etiam, socium ¹ Cassii,
 cui Alexandria erat commissa, exercitus occidit. nam
 et praefectum praetorio sibi fecerat, qui et ipse oc-
 5 cisus est. in conscios defectionis vetuit senatum
 6 graviter vindicare. simul petiit, ne qui senator tem-
 pore principatus sui occideretur, ne eius ² pollueretur
 7 imperium. eos etiam qui deportati fuerant revocari
 iussit, cum paucissimi centuriones capite essent puniti.
 8 signovit et civitatibus quae Cassio consenserant, ignovit
 et Antiochensibus, qui multa in Marcum pro Cassio
 9 dixerant. quibus et spectacula et conventus publicos
 tulerat et omne ³ contionum genus, contra quos
 10 edictum gravissimum misit. seditiosos autem eos et
 oratio Marci indicat, indita Mario Maximo, qua ille
 11 usus est apud amicos. denique noluit Antiochiam
 12 videre cum Syriam peteret. nam nec Cyrrhum voluit
 videre, ex qua erat Cassius. postea tamen Antiochiam
 vidit. fuit Alexandriae clementer cum his agens.⁴

XXVI. Multa egit cum regibus et pacem confirmavit,
 sibi occurrentibus cunctis regibus et legatis Persarum.
 2 omnibus orientalibus provinciis carissimus fuit. apud
 3 multas etiam philosophiae vestigia reliquit. apud
 Aegyptios civem se egit et philosophum in omnibus

¹ *socium* suggested by Peter for *filium* of P, which is cer-
 tainly wrong; see c. xxvi. 11; *Av. Cass.*, vii. 4. ² *ne nece*
eius Peter, following Madvig. ³ *omne* Peter¹; *omnium* P,
 Peter.² ⁴ This sentence, which precedes *postea* . . . *vidit*
 in P, was transposed by Cas.

¹ Possibly, though not probably, the jurist L. Volusius
 Maecianus (see *Pius*, xii. 1).

² For his general policy in the punishment of senators,
 see c. x. 6.

³ Faustina and Commodus seem to have accompanied him

orders that his head should be buried. Maecianus,¹ Cassius' ally, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed, was killed by the army; likewise his prefect of the guard—for he had appointed one—was also slain. Marcus then forbade the senate to impose any heavy punishment upon those who had conspired in this revolt; and at the same time, in order that his reign might escape such a stain, he requested that during his rule no senator should be executed.² Those who had been exiled, moreover, he ordered to be recalled; and there were only a very few of the centurions who suffered the death-penalty. He pardoned the communities which had sided with Cassius, and even went so far as to pardon the citizens of Antioch, who had said many things in support of Cassius and in opposition to himself. But he did abolish their games and public meetings, including assemblies of every kind, and issued a very severe edict against the people themselves. And yet a speech which Marcus delivered to his friends, reported by Marius Maximus, brands them as rebels. And finally, he refused to visit Antioch when he journeyed to Syria,³ nor would he visit Cyrrhus, the home of Cassius. Later on, however, he did visit Antioch. Alexandria, when he stayed there, he treated with clemency.

XXVI. He conducted many negotiations with kings, and ratified peace with all the kings and satraps of Persia when they came to meet him. He was exceedingly beloved by all the eastern provinces, and on many, indeed, he left the imprint of philosophy. While in Egypt he conducted himself like a

on this journey through Syria and Egypt; see c. xxvi. 4 and *Com.*, ii. 3.

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stadiis¹ templis locis.² et cum multa Alexandrini in
 Cassium dixissent fausta, tamen omnibus ignovit et
 4 filiam suam apud eos reliquit. Faustina suam in
 radicibus montis Tauri in vico Halalae exanimatam vi
 5 subiti morbi amisit. petiit a senatu ut honores
 Faustinae aedemque decernerent, laudata eadem, cum
 impudicitiae fama graviter laborasset. quae Anto-
 6 ninus vel nesciit vel dissimulavit. novas puellas Faus-
 7 tinianas instituit in honorem uxoris mortuae. divam
 etiam Faustina a senatu appellatam gratulatus est.
 8 quam secum et in aestivis habuerat, ut matrem cas-
 9 trorum appellaret. fecit et coloniam vicum in quo
 obiit Faustina et aedem illi exstruxit. sed haec postea
 aedis Heliogabalo dedicata est.

10 Ipsum Cassium pro clementia occidi passus est, non
 11 occidi iussit. deportatus est Heliodorus, filius Cassii,
 et alii liberum exsilium acceperunt cum bonorum parte.
 12 filii autem Cassii et amplius media parte acceperunt
 paterni patrimonii et auro atque argento adiuti,
 mulieres autem etiam ornamentis; ita ut Alexandria,
 filia Cassii, et Druncianus gener liberam vagandi

¹ *stadiis* Peter with Salm.; *studiis* P, which Mommsen
 defends. ² *locis* P (by error *ocis* Peter², from which Mommsen
 conj. *oecis*, and Novak, *odeis*).

¹ According to Dio, lxxi. 29, 1, her death was by some
 attributed to suicide.

² Cf. c. xix.

³ Cf. *Pius*, viii. 1. See also *C.I.L.*, vi. 10222.

⁴ Commemorated by coins of *Diva Faustina*, with the
 legend *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iii², p. 141 f., Nos. 65-83. She
 also received the name *Pia*; see the coins and *C.I.L.*, vi.
 1019 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 382.

⁵ After his victory over the Quadi in 174; see Dio, lxxi.
 10, 5. The title appears on her coins issued both before and
 after her deification; see Cohen, iii², p. 149 f., Nos. 159-167.

private citizen and a philosopher at all the stadia, temples, and in fact everywhere. And although the citizens of Alexandria had been outspoken in wishing Cassius success, he forgave everything and left his daughter among them. And now, in the village of Halala, in the foothills of Mount Taurus, he lost his wife Faustina, who succumbed to a sudden illness.¹ He asked the senate to decree her divine honours and a temple, and likewise delivered a eulogy of her, although she had suffered grievously from the reputation of lewdness.² Of this, however, Antoninus was either ignorant or affected ignorance. He established a new order of Faustinian girls³ in honour of his dead wife, expressed his pleasure at her deification by the senate,⁴ and because she had accompanied him on his summer campaign, called her "Mother of the Camp".⁵ And besides this, he made the village where Faustina died a colony, and there built a temple in her honour. This, however, was afterwards consecrated to Elagabalus.⁶

With characteristic clemency, he suffered rather than ordered the execution of Cassius, while Heliodorus, the son of Cassius, was merely banished, and others of his children exiled but allowed part of their father's property.⁷ Cassius' sons, moreover, were granted over half of their father's estate and were enriched besides with sums of gold and silver, while the women of the family were presented with jewels. Indeed, Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in-law, were allowed to travel wherever

⁶ The sun-god of Emesa in Syria, whose worship was introduced into Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus; see *Carac.*, xi. 7; *Hel.*, i. 5 f.

⁷ Cf. *Av. Cass.*, ix. 2-4.

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potestatem haberent commendati amitae marito.
 13 doluit denique Cassiam exstinctum, dicens voluisse se
 sine senatorio sanguine imperium transigere.

XXVII. Orientalibus rebus ordinatis Athenis fuit et
 initia¹ Cereris² adiit, ut se innocentem probaret, et
 2 sacrarium solus³ ingressus est. revertens ad Italiam
 3 navigio tempestatem gravissimam passus est. per
 Brundisium veniens in Italiam togam et ipse sumpsit et
 milites togatos esse iussit, nec umquam sagati fuerunt
 4 sub eo milites. Romam ut venit triumphavit. et inde⁴
 5 Lavinium profectus est. Commodum deinde sibi
 collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit, congiarium
 populo dedit et spectacula mirifica; dein civilia multa
 6 correxit. gladiatorii muneris sumptus modum fecit.
 7 sententia Platonis semper in ore illius fuit, florere
 civitates si aut philosophi imperarent aut imperantes
 8 philosopharentur. filio suo Bruttii Praesentis filiam
 iunxit nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum, quare
 etiam congiarium dedit populo.

¹ So Novak; *initialia* P; edd. *initialia*, with Salm.
² *ceteris* P. ³ *solus* Lessing with Cas.; *solum* P, Peter.
⁴ *et inde* P; *inde* Lessing; *exinde* edd.

¹ Cf. c. xxv. 6.

² As Hadrian had done; see *Hadr.*, xiii. 1.

³ See *Hadr.*, xxii. 2-3. His return was commemorated
 by coins with the legend *For(tuna) Red(ux)*; see Cohen, iii²,
 p. 22, No. 210.

⁴ *i.e.*, while they were in Italy.

⁵ See note to c. xvii. 3.

⁶ On the significance of this appointment see *Pius*, iv. 8
 and note. It is commemorated on coins of Commodus of
 177; see Cohen, iii², p. 326 f., Nos. 733-738.

⁷ According to Dio, lxxi. 32, 1, each citizen received eight

they wished, and were even put under the protection of the Emperor's uncle by marriage. And further than this, he grieved at Cassius' death, saying that he had wished to complete his reign without shedding the blood of a single senator.¹

XXVII. After he had settled affairs in the East he Sept., 176 came to Athens, and had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries² in order to prove that he was innocent of any wrong-doing, and he entered the sanctuary unattended. Afterwards, when returning to Italy, he encountered a violent storm on the way. Then, reaching Italy by way of Brundisium, he donned the toga³ and bade his troops do likewise, nor indeed during his reign were the soldiers ever clad in the military cloak.⁴ When he reached Nov., 176 Rome he triumphed,⁵ then hastened to Lavinium. Presently he appointed Commodus his colleague in 177 the tribunician power,⁶ bestowed largess upon the people,⁷ and gave marvellous games; shortly thereafter he remedied many civil abuses, and set a limit to the expense of gladiatorial shows. Ever on his lips was a saying of Plato's, that those states prospered where the philosophers were kings or the kings philosophers. He united his son in marriage with the daughter of Bruttius Præsens,⁸ performing the ceremony in the manner of ordinary citizens; and in celebration of the marriage he gave largess to the people.

aurei (one for each year of Marcus' absence from Rome), a largess greater than had ever been given before.

⁸ Her name was Bruttia Crispina; see Dio, lxxi. 31, 1, and *C.I.L.*, x. 408 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1117. The marriage was commemorated by coins, Cohen, iii², p. 388 f. She was afterwards banished on a charge of adultery and put to death in exile; see Dio, lxxii. 4, 6.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

9 Dein ad conficiendum bellum conversus in adminis-
tratione eius belli obiit, labentibus iam filii moribus ab
10 instituto suo. triennio bellum postea cum Marco-
mannis Hermunduris Sarmatis Quadis etiam egit¹ et,
si anno uno superfuisset, provincias ex his fecisset.
11 ante biduum quam exspiraret, admissis amicis dicitur
ostendisse sententiam de filio eandem quam Philippus
de Alexandro, cum de hoc male sentiret, addens
nimium² se aegre ferre filium superstitem relinquen-
12 tem,³ nam iam Commodus turpem se et cruentum
ostentabat.

XXVIII. Mors autem talis fuit: cum aegrotare
coepisset, filium advocavit atque ab eo primum petiit ut
belli reliquias non contemneret, ne videretur rem pub-
2 licam prodere. et, cum filius ei respondisset cupere
se primum sanitatem, ut vellet permisit, petens tamen
ut exspectasset paucos dies, haud⁴ simul proficiscere-
3 tur. deinde abstinuit victu⁵ potuque mori cupiens
4 auxitque morbum. sexta die vocatis amicis et ridens
res humanas, mortem autem contemnens ad amicos

¹ *triennio bellum . . . egit* Klein would transpose to pre-
cede *Dein . . . ab instituto suo*. ² *nimum* Peter with
Salm.; *minime* P. ³ So Cas.; *relinquens* P, whence Novak:
se aegre ferre quod discederet f. s. relinquens. ⁴ *aut* P.
⁵ *victu* Jordan; *ui* P.

¹ He and Commodus left Rome for Pannonia on 3 August, 178; see *Com.*, xii. 6. This war seems to have been called the *Expeditio Germanica Secunda* (*C.I.L.*, ii. 4114, and vi. 8541 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1140 and 1573) or the *Expeditio Sarmatica* (*C.I.L.*, x. 408 = Dessau, 1117).

² Probably uttered during the period of estrangement when Alexander was living in Illyricum; see *Plut., Alex.*, ix.

³ Cf. *Com.*, i. 7-9.

He then turned his attention to completing the war,¹ in the conduct of which he died. During this time the behaviour of his son steadily fell away from the standard the Emperor had set for himself. For three years thereafter he waged war with the Marcomanni, the Hermunduri, the Sarmatians, and the Quadi, and had he lived a year longer he would have made these regions provinces. Two days before his death, it is said, he summoned his friends and expressed the same opinion about his son that Philip expressed about Alexander when he too thought poorly of his son,² and added that it grieved him exceedingly to leave a son behind him. For already Commodus had made it clear that he was base and cruel.³

XXVIII. He died in the following manner:⁴ When he began to grow ill, he summoned his son and besought him first of all not to think lightly of what remained of the war, lest he seem a traitor to the state. And when his son replied that his first desire was good health, he allowed him to do as he wished,⁵ only asking him to wait a few days and not leave at once. Then, being eager to die, he refrained from eating or drinking, and so aggravated the disease. On the sixth day he summoned his friends, and with derision for all human affairs and scorn for death, said to them: "Why do you weep

¹ His death occurred at Sirmium (Mitrowitz on the Save) according to Tertullian, *Apologet.*, 25, at Vindobona (Vienna) according to Victor, *Caes.*, xvi. 12, *Epit.*, xvi. 12. According to a story preserved by Dio (lxxi. 33, 4), his physicians poisoned him in order to please Commodus. It has been supposed that he died of the plague (cf. §§ 4 and 8), but without very good reason.

² Apparently, to abandon the campaign; cf. *Com.*, iii. 5.

MARCUS ANTONINUS

dixit, "quid de me¹ fletis et non magis de pestilentia
 5 et communi morte cogitatis?" et cum illi vellent
 recedere, ingemescens ait, "si iam me dimittitis,
 6 vale vobis dico vos praecedens". et cum ab eo quaer-
 eretur, cui filium commendaret, ille respondit "vo-
 7 bis, si dignus fuerit, et dis immortalibus". exercitus
 cognita mala valetudine vehementissime dolebant,
 8 quia illum unice amarunt. septimo die gravatus est
 et solum filium admisit. quem statim dimisit, ne in
 9 eum morbus transiret. dimisso filio caput operuit
 10 quasi volens dormire, sed nocte animam efflavit. fer-
 tur filium mori voluisse, cum eum talem videret
 futurum qualis exstitit post eius mortem, ne, ut ipse
 dicebat, similis Neroni Caligulae et Domitiano esset.

XXIX. Crimini ei datum est quod adulteros uxoris
 promoverit, Tertullum et Tutilium² et Orfitum et
 Moderatum, ad varios honores, cum Tertullum et
 2 prandentem cum uxore deprehenderit. de quo mimus
 in scaena praesente Antonino dixit, cum stupidus
 nomen adulteri uxoris a servo quaereret, et ille diceret
 ter "Tullus," et adhuc stupidus quaereret, respondit
 3 ille "iam tibi dixi ter, Tullus dicitur". et de hoc
 quidem multa populus, multa etiam alii dixerunt
 patientiam Antonini incusantes.

¹ So Peter, following Jordan; *quideme* P¹; *quid me* P corr.
² *Tutilium* Scaliger; *utilium* P.

¹ See note to c. xiii. 3.

² Cf. Dio, lxxi. 34, 1, and Herodian, i. 4.

³ Cf. Dio, lxxi. 33, 4. ⁴ See note to *Com.*, viii. 1.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XXVIII. 5—XXIX. 3

for me, instead of thinking about the pestilence¹ and about death which is the common lot of us all?" And when they were about to retire he groaned and said: "If you now grant me leave to go, I bid you farewell and pass on before". And when he was asked to whom he commended his son he replied: "To you,² if he prove worthy, and to the immortal gods". The army, when they learned of his sickness, lamented loudly, for they loved him singularly. On the seventh day he was weary and admitted only his son, and even him he at once sent away in fear that he would catch the disease. And when his son had gone, he covered his head as though he wished to sleep and during the night he breathed his last.³ It is said that he foresaw that after his death Commodus would turn out as he actually did,^{17 Mar., 180} and expressed the wish that his son might die, lest, as he himself said, he should become another Nero, Caligula, or Domitian.

XXIX. It is held to Marcus' discredit that he advanced his wife's lovers, Tertullus and Tutilius⁴ and Orfitus and Moderatus, to various offices of honour, although he had caught Tertullus in the very act of breakfasting with his wife. In regard to this man the following dialogue was spoken on the stage in the presence of Antoninus himself. The Fool asked the Slave the name of his wife's lover and the Slave answered "Tullus" three times; and when the Fool kept on asking, the Slave replied, "I have already told you thrice Tullus is his name".⁵ But the city-populace and others besides talked a great deal about this incident and found fault with Antoninus for his forbearance.

⁵ Ter-tullus means "Thrice-Tullus".

MARCUS ANTONINUS

- 4 Ante tempus sane mortis, priusquam ad bellum
Marcomannicum rediret, in Capitolio iuravit nullum
senatorem se sciente occisum, cum etiam rebelliones
5 dixerit se servaturum fuisse si scisset. nihil enim
magis et timuit et deprecatus est quam avaritiae
6 famam, de qua se multis epistulis purgat. dederunt
et vitio quod fictus¹ fuisset nec tam simplex quam
7 videretur, aut quam vel Pius vel Verus fuisset. de-
derunt etiam crimini quod aulicam adrogantiam
confirmaverit summovendo amicos a societate com-
muni et a conviviiis.
- 8 Parentibus consecrationem decrevit. amicos paren-
tum etiam mortuos statuīs ornavit.
- 9 Suffragatoribus non cito credidit, sed semper diu
quaesivit quod erat verum.
- 10 Enisa est Fabia ut Faustina mortua in eius matri-
monium coiret. sed ille concubinam sibi adscivit
procuratoris uxoris suae filiam, ne tot liberis super-
duceret novercam.

¹ *fictus* Novak; *ei uictus* P; *effictus* Peter with Erasmus.

¹ See c. x. 6; xxv. 5-6; xxvi. 13.

² He had been betrothed to her in his youth; see c. iv. 5.

MARCUS ANTONINUS XXIX. 4-10

Previous to his death, and before he returned to the Marcomannic war, he swore in the Capitol that no senator had been executed with his knowledge and consent, and said that had he known he would have spared even the insurgents.¹ Nothing did he fear and deprecate more than a reputation for covetousness, a charge of which he tried to clear himself in many letters. Some maintain—and held it a fault—that he was insincere and not as guileless as he seemed, indeed not as guileless as either Pius or Verus had been. Others accused him of encouraging the arrogance of the court by keeping his friends from general social intercourse and from banquets.

His parents were deified at his command, and even his parents' friends, after their death, he honoured with statues.

He did not readily accept the version of those who were partisans in any matter, but always searched long and carefully for the truth.

After the death of Faustina, Fabia² tried to manœuvre a marriage with him. But he took a concubine instead, the daughter of a steward of his wife's, rather than put a stepmother over so many children.

VERUS IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Scio plerosque ita vitam Marci ac Veri litteris atque historiae dedicasse ut priorem Verum intimandum legentibus darent, non imperandi secutos¹ ordinem sed vivendi; ego vero, quod prior Marcus imperare coepit, dein Verus, qui superstite periit Marco, priorem Marcum dehinc Verum credidi celebrandum.

Igitur Lucius Ceionius Aelius² Commodus Verus Antoninus, qui ex Hadriani voluntate Aelius appellatus est, ex Antonini coniunctione Verus et Antoninus, neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponitur. ⁴quem constat non inhorruisse vitiis, non abundasse virtutibus, vixisse deinde non in suo libero principatu sed sub Marco in simili ac paris³ maiestatis imperio, a cuius secta lascivia morum et vitae licentioris nimie-

¹ *secutus* P¹; *secuti sunt* P corr. ² *caelius* P. ³ *pari* P.

¹ *i.e.* Marcus succeeded to the throne, and then associated Verus with himself as partner in the imperial power; see *Marc.*, vii. 5.

² He never bore all these names at the same time. For his names before and after his adoption by Pius see note to *Hadr.* xxiv. 1.

³ Cf. *Ael.*, vii. 2. It would be more accurate to say that he

VERUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Most men, I well know, who have enshrined in literature and history the lives of Marcus and Verus, have made Verus known to their readers first, following the order, not of their reigns, but of their lives. I, however, have thought, since Marcus began to rule first and Verus only afterwards¹ and Verus died while Marcus still lived on, that Marcus' life should be related first, and then that of Verus.

Now, Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus²—called Aelius by the wish of Hadrian,³ Verus and Antoninus because of his relationship to Antoninus⁴—is not to be classed with either the good or the bad emperors. For, in the first place, it is agreed that if he did not bristle with vices, no more did he abound in virtues; and, in the second place, he enjoyed, not unrestricted power, but a sovereignty on like terms and equal dignity with Marcus, from whom he differed, however, as far as morals went, both in the laxity of his principles and received the name Aelius when he was adopted by Pius, who had received it on his adoption by Hadrian.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 7.

VERUS

5tate dissensit. erat enim morum simplicium et qui
adumbrare nihil posset.

6 Huic naturalis pater fuit Lucius Helius Verus, qui
ab Hadriano adoptatus primus Caesar est dictus et in
7 eadem statione constitutus periit. avi ac proavi et
8 item maiores plurimi consulares. natus est Lucius
Romae in praetura patris sui XVIII kal. Ianuariarum
9 die quo et Nero, qui rerum potitus est. origo eius
paterna pleraque ex Etruria fuit, materna ex Faventia.

II. Hac prosapia genitus patre ab Hadriano adoptato
in familiam Aeliam devenit mortuoque patre Caesare
2 in Hadriani familia remansit. a quo Aurelio datus
est adoptandus, cum sibi ille Pium filium Marcum
3 nepotem esse voluisset posteritati satis providens, et
ea quidem lege ut filiam Pii Verus acciperet, quae
data est Marco idcirco quia hic adhuc impar videbatur
4 aetate, ut in Marci vita exposuimus. duxit autem
uxorem Marci filiam Lucillam. educatus est in domo
5 Tiberiana. audivit Scaurinum grammaticum Latinum,
Scauri filium, qui grammaticus Hadriani fuit, Graecos
Telephum¹ atque Hephæstionem,² Harpocratonem,³

¹ *telephum* P. ² *Hefaestionem* Peter; *fertionem* P.
³ *arpocratonem* P^b; *acprocratonem* P^a.

¹ See *Marc.*, xvi. 4; xxix. 6; c. iii. 7.

² See *Ael.*, i. 2 and note.

³ Cf. *Had.*, xxiii. 16; *Ael.*, iv. 7.

⁴ His grandfather was L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 106 (cf. *Ael.*, ii. 7); his great-grandfather was probably L. Ceionius Commodus, consul in 78.

⁵ The year is established by c. ii. 10, for he was adopted by Pius in Jan., 138; the day is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus; see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 278.

⁶ Cf. *Suet.*, *Nero*, vi. 1.

⁷ Cf. *Ael.*, ii. 8.

⁸ See note to c. i. 3.

the excessive licence of his life. For in character he was utterly ingenuous and unable to conceal a thing.¹

His real father, Lucius Aelius Verus (who was adopted by Hadrian), was the first man to receive the name of Caesar² and die without reaching a higher rank.³ His grandfathers and great-grandfathers⁴ and likewise many other of his ancestors were men of consular rank. Lucius himself was born at Rome while his father was praetor, on the eighteenth day¹⁵ Dec., before the Kalends of January,⁵ the birthday of Nero as well⁶—who also held the throne. His father's family came mostly from Etruria, his mother's from Faventia.⁷

II. Such, then, was his real ancestry; but when his father was adopted by Hadrian he passed into the Aelian family,⁸ and when his father Caesar died, he still stayed in the family of Hadrian. By Hadrian he was given in adoption to Aurelius,⁹ when Hadrian, making abundant provision for the succession, wished to make Pius his son and Marcus his grandson; and he was given on the condition that he should espouse the daughter of Pius.¹⁰ She was later given to Marcus, however, as we have related in his life,¹¹ because Verus seemed too much her junior in years, while Verus took to wife Marcus' daughter Lucilla.¹² He was reared in the House of Tiberius,¹³ and received instruction from the Latin grammarian Scaurinus (the son of the Scaurus¹⁴ who had been Hadrian's grammarian), the Greeks Telephus, Hephæstio, Harpocratio, the rhetoricians Apollonius, Caninius

⁹ *i.e.* Pius; see *Marc.*, v. 1 and note.

¹⁰ See *Ael.*, vi. 9.

¹¹ *Of. Marc.*, vi. 2.

¹² See *Marc.*, vii. 7; ix. 4.

¹³ See note to *Pius*, x. 4.

¹⁴ A famous *grammaticus*; see *Plin., Epist.*, v. 11; *Gellius*, xi. 15, 3.

VERUS

rhetores Apollonium, Celerem Caninium et Herodem
 Atticum, Latinum Cornelium Frontonem; philo-
 6 sophos Apollonium et Sextum. hos omnes amavit
 unice, atque ab his invicem dilectus est, nec tamen
 7 ingeniosus ad litteras. amavit autem in pueritia
 versus facere, post orationes. et melior quidem
 orator fuisse dicitur quam poeta, immo, ut verius
 8 dicam, peior poeta quam rhetor. nec desunt qui di-
 cant eum adiutum ingenio amicorum, atque ab aliis
 ei illa ipsa, qualiacumque sunt, scripta; si quidem
 multos disertos et eruditos semper secum habuisse
 9 dicitur. educatorem habuit Nicomedem. fuit volup-
 tarius¹ et nimis laetus et omnibus deliciis ludis iocis
 10 decenter aptissimus. post septimum annum in famil-
 iam Aureliam traductus Marci moribus et auctoritate
 formatus est. amavit venatus palaestras et omnia
 11 exercitia iuventutis. fuitque privatus in domo im-
 peratoria viginti et tribus annis.

III. Qua die togam virilem Verus accepit, An-
 toninus Pius ea occasione qua patris templum dedi-
 2 cabat populo liberalis fuit. mediusque inter Pium et
 Marcum idem resedit,² cum quaestor populo munus
 3 daret. post quaesturam statim consul est factus cum

¹ So P; *voluptuarius* Peter.

² *se resedit* P.

¹ See *Marc.*, ii. 4.

² See *Pius*, x. 4; *Marc.*, ii. 7.

³ See *Marc.*, iii. 2.

⁴ *i.e.* was adopted by Pius.

⁵ *i.e.* he did not hold any public office, although it was usual to bestow such on young members of the imperial house-

ler,¹ Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius
 onto, his teachers in philosophy being Apollonius²
 d Sextus.³ For all of these he cherished a deep
 ection, and in return he was beloved by them, and
 is despite his lack of natural gifts in literary studies.
 his youth he loved to compose verses, and later on
 life, orations. And, in truth, he is said to have
 en a better orator than poet, or rather, to be strictly
 ithful, a worse poet than speaker. Nor are there
 king those who say that he was aided by the wit
 his friends, and that the things credited to him,
 ch as they are, were written by others; and in fact
 is said that he did keep in his employ a number of
 oquent and learned men. Nicomedes was his tutor.
 e was devoted to pleasure, too care-free, and very
 ver, within proper bounds, at every kind of frolic,
 ort, and raillery. At the age of seven he passed¹³⁸
 o the Aurelian family,⁴ and was moulded by the
 nners and influence of Marcus. He loved hunt-
 g; and wrestling, and indeed all the sports of
 ath. And at the age of three and twenty he was
 ll a private citizen⁵ in the imperial household.
 III. On the day when Verus assumed the toga virilis
 toninus Pius, who on that same occasion dedicated
 emple to his father, gave largess to the people;⁶
 d Verus himself, when quaestor,⁷ gave the people
 gladiatorial spectacle, at which he sat between Pius
 d Marcus. Immediately after his quaestorship he¹⁵⁴

d; see *Pius*, vi. 9-10 and note. Verus was evidently
 estor in 153.

¹This was probably in 145, for the toga virilis was assumed
 Marcus in his fifteenth year; see *Marc.* iv. 5. Antoninus'
 is of 145 bear the legend *Liberalitas IV*; see Cohen, ii²,
 118 f., Nos. 490-501.

²See *Pius*, vi. 10.

VERUS

Sextio¹ Laterano. interiectis annis cum Marco fratre
 4 iterum factus est consul. diu autem et² privatus
 fuit et ea honorificentia caruit qua Marcus ornabatur.
 5 nam neque³ in senatu ante quaesturam sedit neque
 in itinere cum patre sed cum praefecto praetorii
 vectus est nec aliud ei honorificentiae adnomen ad-
 iunctum est quam quod Augusti filius appellatus est.
 6 fuit studiosus etiam circensium haud aliter quam
 gladiatorii muneris. hic cum tantis deliciarum et
 luxuriae quateretur erroribus, ab Antonino videtur ob
 hoc retentus quod eum pater ita in adoptionem Pii
 transire iusserat ut nepotem appellaret. cui, quan-
 7 tum videtur, ndem exhibuit, non amorem. amavit
 tamen Antoninus Pius simplicitatem ingenii purita-
 temque⁴ vivendi hortatusque est ut imitaretur et
 8 fratrem. defuncto Pio Marcus in eum omnia contulit,
 participatu etiam imperatoriae potestatis indulto,
 sibi que consortem fecit, cum illi soli senatus detulisset
 imperium.

IV. Dato igitur imperio et indulta tribunicia potes-
 tate, post consulatus⁵ etiam honorem delatum Verum
 vocari praecepit, suum in eum transferens nomen,
 2 cum ante Commodus vocaretur. Lucius quidem

¹ *Sextio* Peter with Clinton; *sestilio* P. ² *ei* P. ³ *nam*
neque Jordan; *namque* P. ⁴ *puritatemque* P, perhaps a
 corruption; Peter suggests *hilaritatemque*. ⁵ *post consu-*
latus Petrarch; *proconsulatus* P¹; *proconsulatus* P corr.

¹ See *Marc.*, vi. 3-6.

² This is confirmed by inscriptions, e.g., *C.I.L.*, iii. 3843 =
Dessau, Ins. Sel., 358.

was made consul, with Sextius Lateranus as his colleague, and a number of years later he was created consul for a second term together with his brother¹⁶¹ Marcus. For a long time, however, he was merely a private citizen and lacked the marks of honour with which Marcus was continually being decorated.¹ For he did not have a seat in the senate until he was quaestor, and while travelling, he rode, not with his father, but with the prefect of the guard, nor was any title added to his name as a mark of honour save only that he was called the son of Augustus.² He was fond of circus-games no less than of gladiatorial spectacles. And although he was weakened by such follies of debauchery and extravagance, nevertheless Pius retained him as a son, for the reason, it seems, that Hadrian, wishing to call the youth his grandson, had ordered Pius to adopt him. Towards Pius, so far as it appears, Verus showed loyalty rather than affection. Pius, however, loved the frankness of his nature³ and his unspoiled way of living, and encouraged Marcus to imitate him in these. When Pius died, Marcus bestowed all honours upon Verus, even granting him a share in the imperial power; he made him his colleague, moreover, when the senate had presented the sovereignty to him alone.⁴

IV. After investing him with the sovereignty, then, and installing him in the tribunician power,⁵ and after rendering him the further honour of the consulship,¹⁶¹ Marcus gave instructions that he be named Verus, transferring his own name to him, whereas previously he had been called Commodus.⁶ In return for this,

¹ See note to c. i. 5.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, vii. 5.

² See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

⁶ On his name see note to *Had.*, xxiv. 1.

VERUS

Marco vicem reddens si quid susciperet¹ obsecutus³ ut legatus proconsuli vel praeses imperatori. iam primum enim pro ambobus² ad milites est locutus et pro consensu imperii³ graviter se et ad Marci mores egit.

⁴ Ubi vero in Syriam⁴ profectus est, non solum licentia vitae liberioris sed etiam adulteriis et iu-
⁵venum⁵ amoribus infamatus est; si quidem tantae luxuriae fuisse dicitur ut etiam, posteaquam⁶ de Syria rediit, popinam domi instituerit, ad quam post convivium Marci devertebat,⁷ ministrantibus sibi
⁶omni genere turpium personarum. fertur et nocte perpeti alea lusisse, cum in Syria concepisset id vitium, atque in tantum vitiorum Gaianorum et Neronianorum ac Vitellianorum fuisse aemulum, ut vagaretur nocte per tabernas ac lupanaria oblecto capite cucullione vulgari viatorio et commissaretur cum triconibus, committeret rixas, dissimulans quis esset, saepeque efflic-
⁷tum livida facie redisse et in tabernis agnitum, cum
⁸sese absconderet. iaciebat et nummos in popinas
⁸maximos, quibus calices frangeret. amavit et aurigas,

¹ Thus Lenz; *si susciperet obsecutus* P; + *si susciperet obsecutus* Peter.

² So Damsté; *Marcus pro ambobus* P.

³ *pro consensu imperii* Jordan; *pro consensu imperio* P.

⁴ *Syria* P, Peter.

⁵ So Winterfeld; *iuventis* P¹; *iuventutis* P corr.; *incestis* Peter.

⁶ *posteaquam* Petrarch; *quam postea* P, Peter.

⁷ *devertebat* P, which Lessing restores; *diuvertebat* edd.

¹ i.e. the praetorian guard; see *Marc.*, vii. 9.

² See note to *Marc.*, viii. 10.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, viii. 12.

⁴ This is told about Nero (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii. 25; *Suet., Nero*, xxvi.; *Dio*, lxi. 8), but not, at least by extant authors, about

VERUS IV. 3-8

Verus obeyed Marcus, whenever he entered upon any undertaking, as a lieutenant obeys a proconsul or a governor obeys the emperor. For, at the beginning, he addressed the soldiers¹ in his brother's behalf as well as his own, and in consideration of the joint rule he conducted himself with dignity and observed the moral standard that Marcus had set up.

When he set out for Syria,² however, his name was¹⁶² smirched not only by the licence of an unbridled life,³ but also by adulteries and by love-affairs with young men. Besides, he is said to have been so depraved as to install a cook-shop in his home after he returned from Syria, and to repair thither after Marcus' banquets and have all manner of foul persons serve him. It is said, moreover, that he used to dice the whole night through, after he had taken up that vice in Syria, and that he so rivalled Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius in their vices as to wander about at night through taverns and brothels with only a common travelling-cap for a head-covering, revel with various rowdies, and engage in brawls, concealing his identity the while⁴; and often, they say, when he returned, his face was beaten black and blue, and once he was recognised in a tavern even though he had hidden himself. It was his wont also to hurl large coins into the cook-shops and therewith smash the cups. He was very fond also of charioteers, favouring the "Greens".⁵ He held gladiatorial

Caligula or Vitellius. The same thing is also told about Otho (Suet., *Otho*, ii. 1) and Commodus (*Com.*, iii. 7).

⁵ The teams and drivers competing in the races were supplied by four racing syndicates, named, after the colours which they adopted, the "Greens," the "Blues," the "Reds," and the "Whites". Caligula and Nero were also partisans of the "Greens"; see Suet., *Cal.*, iv. 2, and *Nero*, xxii.

VERUS

- 9 Prasino favens. gladiatorum etiam frequentius pugnas in convivio habuit, trahens cenas in noctem et in toro convivali condormiens, ita ut levatus cum stromatibus in cubiculum perferretur. somni fuit permoldici, digestionis facillimae.
- 11 Sed Marcus haec omnia bene sciens¹ dissimulabat V. pudore² illo ne reprehenderet fratrem. et notissimum eius quidem fertur tale convivium, in quo primum duodecim accubuisse dicitur, cum sit notissimum dictum de numero convivarum "septem convivium, 2 novem vero convicium". donatos autem pueros decoros qui ministrabant singulis, donatos etiam structores et lances singulis quibusque, donata et viva animalia vel cicurum vel ferarum avium vel quadripedum,³ 3 quorum cibi adpositi erant, donatos etiam calices singulis per singulas potiones, murrinos et crystallinos Alexandrinos, quotiens bibitum est; data etiam aurea atque argentea pocula et gemmata, coronas quin etiam datas lemniscis aureis interpositis et alieni temporis⁴ floribus, data et vasa aurea cum unguentis ad speciem 4 alabastrorum, data et vehicula cum mulabus ac mulionibus cum iuncturis argenteis, ut ita de convivio 5 redirent. omne autem convivium aestimatum dicitur 6 sexagies centenis milibus sestertiorum. hoc convivium posteaquam Marcus audivit, ingemuisse dicitur et 7 doluisse publicum fatum. post convivium lulum

¹ So Oberdick; *omnia nesciens* P; *omnia non nesciens* Peter.

² So Novak; *prae* (· R · in P) before *pudore* Peter. ³ So P; *quadrupedum* B, Peter. ⁴ So P^b; *alienis temporibus* P corr.

¹ This saying is not found elsewhere; all the evidence, both literary and monumental, shows that nine was the normal number. There was an old principle that the number

bouts rather frequently at his banquets, and after continuing the meal far into the night he would fall asleep on the banqueting-couch, so that he had to be lifted up along with the covers and carried to his bedroom. He never needed much sleep, however; and his digestion was excellent.

But Marcus, though he was not without knowledge of these happenings, with characteristic modesty pretended ignorance for fear of censuring his brother. V. One such banquet, indeed, became very notorious. This was the first banquet, it is said, at which couches were placed for twelve, although there is a very well-known saying about the proper number of those present at a banquet that "seven make a dinner, nine make a din".¹ Furthermore, the comely lads who did the serving were given as presents, one to each guest; carvers and platters, too, were presented to each, and also live animals either tame or wild, winged or quadruped, of whatever kind were the meats that were served, and even goblets of *murra*² or of Alexandrine crystal were presented to each man for each drink, as often as they drank. Besides this, he gave golden and silver and even jewelled cups, and garlands, too, entwined with golden ribbons and flowers out of season, golden vases with ointments made in the shape of perfume-boxes, and even carriages, together with mules and muleteers, and trappings of silver, wherewith they might return home from the banquet. The estimated cost of the whole banquet, it is reported, was six million sesterces. And when Marcus heard of this dinner, they say, he groaned and bewailed the fate of the empire. After

at a banquet should not be less than the Graces or greater than the Muses; see Gellius, xiii. 11, 2.

¹ See note to *Marc.* xvii. 4.

VERUS

8est tesseris usque ad lucem. et haec quidem post
 Parthicum bellum, ad quod eum misisse dicitur Mar-
 cus, ne vel in urbe ante oculos omnium peccaret, vel
 ut parsimoniam peregrinatione addisceret, vel ut
 timore bellico emendatior rediret, vel ut se imper-
 9atorem esse cognosceret. sed quantum profecerit,
 cum alia vita tum haec quam narravimus cena mon-
 stravit.

VI. Circensium tantam curam habuit ut frequenter
 e provincia ¹ litteras causa circensium et miserit et
 2acceperit. denique etiam praesens et cum Marco
 sedens multas a Venetianis est passus iniurias, quod
 3turpissime contra eos faveret. nam et Volucris equo
 Prasino aureum simulacrum fecerat, quod secum por-
 4tabat. cui quidem passas uvas et nucleos in vicem
 hordei in praesepe ponebat, quem sagis fuco tinctis
 coopertum in Tiberianam ad se adduci iubebat, cui
 5mortuo sepulchrum in Vaticano fecit. in huius equi
 gratiam primum coeperunt equis aurei vel brabia
 6postulari. in tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut
 ei a populo Prasinianorum saepe modius aureorum
 postularetur.

7 Profectum eum ad Parthicum bellum Marcus
 Capuam prosecutus est; cumque inde per omnium
 villas se ingurgitaret, morbo implicitus apud Canusium

¹ e added by Salm.; *prouincialibus* P corr.

¹ See note to c. iv. 8.

² See note to *Pius*, x. 4.

² i.e., "Flyer".

⁴ See *Marc.*, viii. 9 f. and note,

the banquet, moreover, they dined until dawn. And all this was done after the Parthian war, whither Marcus had sent him, it is said, either that he might commit his debaucheries away from the city and the eyes of all citizens, or that he might learn economy by his travels, or that he might return reformed through the fear inspired by war, or, finally, that he might come to realize that he was an emperor. But how much good all this did is shown not only by the rest of his life, but also by this banquet of which we have just told.

VI. Such interest did Verus take in the circus-games that frequently even in his province he despatched and received letters pertaining to them. And finally, even at Rome, when he was present and seated with Marcus, he suffered many insults from the "Blues,"¹ because he had outrageously, as they maintained, taken sides against them. For he had a golden statue made of the "Green" horse Volucer,² and this he always carried around with him; indeed, he was wont to put raisins and nuts instead of barley in this horse's manger and to order him brought to him, in the House of Tiberius,³ covered with a blanket dyed with purple, and he built him a tomb, when he died, on the Vatican Hill. It was because of this horse that gold pieces and prizes first began to be demanded for horses, and in such honour was this horse held, that frequently a whole peck of gold pieces was demanded for him by the faction of the "Greens".

When Verus set out for the Parthian war, Marcus¹⁶² accompanied him as far as Capua⁴; from there on he gorged himself in everyone's villa, and in consequence he was taken sick at Canusium, becoming very ill, so that his brother hastened thither to see him. And

VERUS

aegrotavit. quo ad eum¹ visendum frater contendit.
⁸ multa in eius vita ignava et sordida etiam belli tem-
⁹ pore deteguntur. nam cum interfecto legato, caesis
 legionibus, Syris defectionem cogitantibus, oriens
 vastaretur, ille in Apulia venabatur et apud Corinthum
 et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigabat et
 per singulas maritimas civitates Asiae Pamphylicae
 VII. Ciliciaeque clariores voluptatibus immorabatur. Antiochiam posteaquam venit, ipse quidem se luxuriae
 dedidit, duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum,
 Statius Priscus et Avidius Cassius et Martius Verus
 per quadriennium, ita ut Babylonem et Mediam per-
² venirent et Armeniam vindicarent. partumque ipsi
 nomen est Armeniaci, Parthici, Medici, quod etiam
³ Marco Romae agenti delatum est. egit autem per
 quadriennium Verus hiemem Laodiceae, aestatem
⁴ apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae. risui
 fuit omnibus Syris, quorum multa ioca in theatro in
⁵ eum dicta exstant. vernas in triclinium Saturnalibus
⁶ et diebus festis semper admisit. ad Euphraten tamen
 impulsus comitum suorum sequendo² profectus est.
⁷ Ephesum etiam rediit, ut Lucillam uxorem, missam a
 patre Marco, susciperet, et idcirco maxime ne Marcus
 cum ea in Syriam veniret ac flagitia eius adnosceret.

¹ So Peter; *quod eum* P¹ (*m* later erased). ² So Peter²;
impulsus . . . secunde P¹; *impulsu . . . secum* P corr.

¹ Aelius Severianus, governor of Cappadocia; see note to *Marc.*, viii. 6.

* ² Governor of Cappadocia; he carried on a successful campaign in Armenia in 164. Later, he informed Marcus of the revolt of Avidius Cassius (see Dio, lxxi. 23), and afterwards became Cassius' successor in the governorship of Syria.

³ See *Marc.*, ix. 1-2 and notes, The Armenian campaign

now in the course of this war there were revealed many features of Verus' life that were weak and base. For while a legate was being slain,¹ while legions were being slaughtered, while Syria meditated revolt, and the East was being devastated, Verus was hunting in Apulia, travelling about through Athens and Corinth accompanied by orchestras and singers, and dallying through all the cities of Asia that bordered on the sea, and those cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia that were particularly notorious for their pleasure-resorts. VII. And when he came to Antioch, there he gave himself wholly to riotous living. His generals, meanwhile, Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus² for four years conducted the war until they advanced to Babylon and Media, and recovered Armenia.³ He, however, gained the names Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Medicus; and these were proffered to Marcus also, who was then living at Rome. For four years, moreover, Verus passed his 163-166 winters at Laodicea, his summers at Daphne, and the rest of the time at Antioch.⁴ As far as the Syrians were concerned, he was an object for ridicule, and many of the jibes which they uttered against him on the stage are still preserved. Always, during the Saturnalia and on holidays he admitted his more pampered slaves to his dining-room. Finally, however, at the insistence of his staff he set out for the Euphrates, but soon, in order to receive his wife Lucilla, who had been sent thither by her father Marcus,⁵ he returned to Ephesus, going there chiefly in order that Marcus might not come to Syria with

was the first one, then followed the campaigns in Parthia and Media.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, viii. 12.

⁵ Cf. *Marc.*, ix. 4.

VERUS

nam senatui Marcus dixerat se filiam in Syriam deducturum. confecto sane bello regna regibus, provincias vero comitibus suis regendas dedit. Romam inde ad triumphum invitus, quod Syriam quasi regnum suum relinqueret, rediit et pariter cum fratre triumphavit, susceptis a senatu nominibus quae in exercitu acceperat. fertur praeterea ad amicae vulgaris arbitrium in Syria posuisse barbam; unde in eum a Syris multa sunt dicta.

VIII. Fuit eius fati ut in eas provincias per quas rediit Romam usque luem secum deferre videretur. et nata fertur pestilentia in Babylonia, ubi de templo Apollinis ex arcula aurea, quam miles forte incidemat, spiritus pestilens evasit, atque inde Parthos orbemque¹ complesse. sed hoc non Lucii Veri vitio sed Cassii, a quo contra fidem Seleucia, quae ut amicos milites nostros receperat, expugnata est. quod quidem inter ceteros etiam Quadratus, belli Parthici scriptor, incusatis Seleucenis, qui fidem primi ruperant, purgat.

Habuit hanc reverentiam Marci Verus, ut nomina

¹ *urbemque P.*

¹ Verus' coins of 166 bear the legends *Pax* and *Pax Augusti*.

² Armenia, Osroëne, and probably other client-kingdoms. For the coins see note to *Marc.*, ix. 1.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xii. 8 f.

⁴ Armeniacus, Parthicus Maximus, and Medicus; see notes to *Marc.*, ix. 1-2.

⁵ Probably the famous Panthea; see Marcus, *εἰς ἐαυτὸν* viii. 37; Lucian, *Imag.*, x.; xx.

⁶ Cf. *Marc.*, xiii. 3 f.

her and discover his evil deeds. For Marcus had told the senate that he himself would conduct his daughter to Syria. Then, after the war was finished,¹ 166 he assigned kingdoms² to certain kings, and provinces to certain members of his staff, to be ruled, and returned to Rome for a triumph,³ reluctantly, however, since he was leaving in Syria what almost seemed his own kingdom. His triumph he shared with his brother, and from the senate he accepted the names which he had received in the army.⁴ It is said, furthermore, that he shaved off his beard while in Syria to humour the whim of a low-born mistress;⁵ and because of this many things were said against him by the Syrians.

VIII. It was his fate to seem to bring a pestilence with him to whatever provinces he traversed on his return, and finally even to Rome.⁶ It is believed that this pestilence originated in Babylonia, where a pestilential vapour arose in a temple of Apollo from a golden casket which a soldier had accidentally cut open, and that it spread thence over Parthia and the whole world. Lucius Verus, however, is not to blame for this so much as Cassius, who stormed Seleucia in violation of an agreement, after it had received our soldiers as friends. This act, indeed, many excuse, and among them Quadratus,⁷ the historian of the Parthian war, who blames the Seleucians as the first to break the agreement.

Such respect did Verus have for Marcus, that on

⁷ Asinius Quadratus, author of a history of Rome from the foundation of the city to the reign of Severus Alexander; see Suidas, s.v. *Kodpâros*. His history of the Parthian wars is cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, frag. 12 f.; see also *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

VERUS

quae sibi delata fuerant cum fratre communicaret die
6 triumphi, quem pariter celebrarunt. reversus e
Parthico bello minore circa fratrem cultu fuit Verus;
nam et libertis inhonestius indulsit et multa sine fratre
7 disposuit. his accessit, quod, quasi reges aliquos ad
triumphum adduceret, sic histriones eduxit e Syria,
quorum praecipuus fuit Maximinus, quem Paridis
8 nomine nuncupavit. villam praeterea exstruxit in Via
Clodia famosissimam, in qua per multos dies et ipse
ingenti luxuria debacchatus est cum libertis suis et
amicis imparibus,¹ quorum praesentiae² nulla inerat
9 reverentia. et Marcum rogavit, qui venit, ut fratri
venerabilem morum suorum et imitandam ostenderet
sanctitudinem, et quinque diebus in eadem villa resi-
dens cognitionibus continuis operam dedit, aut con-
10 vivante fratre aut convivia comparante. habuit et
Agrippum histrionem, cui cognomentum erat Mem-
phii, quem et ipsum e Syria veluti tropaeum Parthicum
11 adduxerat, quem Apolaustum nominavit. adduxerat
secum et fidicinas et tibicines et histriones scurrasque
mimarios et praestigiatores et omnia mancipiorum
genera, quorum Syria et Alexandria pascitur voluptate,
prorsus ut videretur bellum non Parthicum sed hist-
rionicum confecisse.

¹ So Richter; *paribus* P, Peter.

² *praesentiae nulla* Novak; *praesentia ulla* P; *in praesentia nulla* Peter.

¹ See note to c. vii. 9.

² Cf. c. ix. 3-5.

³ Also mentioned by Fronto, *Prin. Hist.*, p. 209 N.

⁴ Running N.W. from Rome through central Etruria, branching off from the Via Cassia near Veii. The villa of Verus was probably on the Via Cassia, near the modern Acqua Traversa, north of the Pons Mulvius.

⁵ *i.e.* "Enjoyable". After his manumission he took the name L. Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius. He is

VERUS VIII. 6-11

the day of the triumph, which they celebrated together, he shared with his brother the names which had been granted to himself.¹ After he had returned from the Parthian war, however, Verus exhibited less regard for his brother; for he pampered his freedmen² shamefully, and settled many things without his brother's counsel. Besides all this, he brought actors out of Syria³ as proudly as though he were leading kings to a triumph. The chief of these was Maximinus, on whom he bestowed the name Paris. Furthermore, he built an exceedingly notorious villa on the Clodian Way,⁴ and here he not only revelled himself for many days at a time in boundless extravagance together with his freedmen and friends of inferior rank in whose presence he felt no shame, but he even invited Marcus. Marcus came, in order to display to his brother the purity of his own moral code as worthy of respect and imitation, and for five days, staying in the same villa, he busied himself continuously with the examination of law-cases, while his brother, in the meantime, was either banqueting or preparing banquets. Verus maintained also the actor Agrippus, surnamed Memphius, whom he had brought with him from Syria, almost as a trophy of the Parthian war, and named Apolaustus.⁵ He had brought with him, too, players of the harp and the flute, actors and jesters from the mimes, jugglers, and any kind of slave whose entertainment had amused him in Syria and Alexandria, and in such numbers, indeed, that he seemed to have concluded a war, not against Parthians, but against actors.

commemorated in numerous inscriptions, and he received many local honours in the cities of Italy. He was put to death in 189; see *Com.*, vii. 1.

VERUS

IX. Et hanc vitae diversitatem¹ atque alia multa inter Marcum et Verum simultates fecisse, non aperta veritas indicabat, sed occultus rumor inseverat.
²verum illud praecipuum quod, cum Libonem quendam patruelem suum Marcus legatum in Syriam misisset, atque ille se insolentius quam verecundus senator efferret, dicens ad fratrem suum se² scripturum esse si quid³ forte dubitaret, nec Verus praesens pati posset, subitoque morbo notis prope veneni existentibus interisset, visum est nonnullis, non tamen Marco, quod eius fraude putaretur occisus. quae res simultatum auxit rumorem.

- ³ Liberti multum potuerunt apud Verum, ut in vita Marci diximus, Geminas et Agaclytus, cui dedit invito
⁴Marco Libonis uxorem. denique nuptiis a Vero⁴
⁵celebratis Marcus convivio non interfuit. habuit et alios liberos Verus improbos, Coeden et Eclectum
⁶ceterosque. quos omnes Marcus post mortem Veri specie honoris abiecit⁵ Eclecto retento, qui postea Commodum filium eius occidit.
⁷Ad bellum Germanicum, Marcus quod nollet Lucium sine se vel ad bellum mittere vel in urbe dimittere causa luxuriae, simul profecti sunt atque Aquileiam venerunt invitoque Lucio Alpes transgressi,

¹ haec . . . *diversitas* P. ² *fratrem suum se* Peter; *fratres suos* P. ³ *qui* P. ⁴ *ab Vero* Peter; *habero* P.
⁵ *adiecit* P.

¹ Probably the M. Annius Libo named in a *senatus consultum* of the time of Pius; see *C.I.L.*, iii. p. 7060.

² *Marc.*, xv. 2.

³ Cf. *Com.*, xv. 2. The identification, however, of Verus' freedman with Eclectus, the murderer of Commodus, has been doubted.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, xiv. and notes.

IX. This diversity in their manner of life, as well as many other causes, bred dissensions between Marcus and Verus—or so it was bruited about by obscure rumours although never established on the basis of manifest truth. But, in particular, this incident was mentioned: Marcus sent a certain Libo,¹ a cousin of his, as his legate to Syria, and there Libo acted more insolently than a respectful senator should, saying that he would write to his cousin if he happened to need any advice. But Verus, who was there in Syria, could not suffer this, and when, a little later, Libo died after a sudden illness accompanied by all the symptoms of poisoning, it seemed probable to some people, though not to Marcus, that Verus was responsible for his death; and this suspicion strengthened the rumours of dissensions between the Emperors.

Verus' freedmen, furthermore, had great influence with him, as we related in the Life of Marcus,² namely Geminus and Agaclytus. To the latter of these he gave the widow of Libo in marriage against the wishes of Marcus; indeed, when Verus celebrated the marriage ceremony Marcus did not attend the banquet. Verus had other unscrupulous freedmen as well, Coedes and Eclectus and others. All of these Marcus dismissed after Verus' death, under pretext of doing them honour, with the exception of Eclectus, and he afterwards slew Marcus' son, Commodus.³

When the German war broke out, the two Em-166 perors went to the front together, for Marcus wished neither to send Lucius to the war alone, nor yet, because of his debauchery, to leave him in the city. When they had come to Aquileia,⁴ they proceeded to cross the Alps, though this was contrary to Lucius'

VERUS

8 cum Verus apud Aquileiam tantum venatus¹ con-
vivatusque esset, Marcus autem omnia prospexisset.
9 de quo bello quid² per legatos barbarorum pacem
petentium, quid³ per duces nostros gestum est, in
10 Marci vita plenissime disputatum est. composito
autem bello in Pannonia urgentē Lucio Aquileiam
redierunt,⁴ quodque⁵ urbanas desiderabat Lucius
11 voluptates in urbem festinatum⁶ est. sed non longe
ab Altino subito in vehiculo morbo, quem apoplexin
vocant, correptus Lucius depositus ē vehiculo detracto
sanguine Altinum perductus, cum triduo mutus
vixisset, apud Altinum periit.

X. Fuit sermo quod et socrum Faustinam incestas-
set. et dicitur Faustinae socrus dolo aspersis ostreis
veneno extinctus esse, idcirco quod consuetudinem
2 quam cum matre habuerat filiae prodidisset. quamvis
et illa fabula quae in Marci vita posita est abhorrens
3 a talis viri vita sit exorta, cum multi etiam uxori eius
flagitium mortis adsignent, et idcirco quod Fabiae
nimium indulserat Verus, cuius potentiam uxor
4 Lucilla⁷ ferre non posset. tanta sane familiaritas
inter Lucium et Fabiam sororem fuit, ut⁸ hoc quoque
usurpaverit rumor quod inierint consilium ad Marcum
5 e vita tollendum, idque cum esset per Agaclytum

¹ uectatus P. ² quid Novak; quidem P; quidem quid
Peter. ³ quidem P. ⁴ redieret P^b; rediret P^a. ⁵ quoque P.
⁶ festinatum Peter; destinatum P. ⁷ Lucilla Mommsen;
lucii P; uel Marci P corr. ⁸ ut Novak; ut si P; uti Peter.

¹ Marc., xiv. 3-4.

² In Venetia, at the mouth of the Plavis (Piave); its modern name is Altino.

desire ; for as long as they remained in Aquileia he did nothing but hunt and banquet while Marcus made all the plans. As far as this war was concerned, we have very fully discussed in the Life of Marcus¹ what was accomplished by the envoys of the barbarians when they sued for peace and what was accomplished by our generals. When the war in Pannonia was settled, they returned to Aquileia at Lucius' insistence, and then, because he yearned for the pleasures of the city, they hastened cityward. But not far from Altinum, Lucius, while in his carriage, was suddenly stricken with the sickness which they call apoplexy, and after he had been set down from his carriage and bled, he was taken to Altinum,² and here he died, after living for three days unable to speak.

X. There was gossip to the effect that he had violated his mother-in-law Faustina. And it is said that his mother-in-law killed him treacherously by having poison sprinkled on his oysters, because he had betrayed to the daughter³ the amour he had had with the mother. However, there arose also that other story related in the Life of Marcus,⁴ one utterly inconsistent with the character of such a man. Many, again, fastened the crime of his death upon his wife, since Verus had been too complaisant to Fabia, and her power his wife Lucilla could not endure. Indeed, Lucius and his sister Fabia did become so intimate that gossip went so far as to claim that they had entered into a conspiracy to make away with Marcus, and that when this was betrayed to Marcus by the freedman Agaclytus, Faustina cir-

³ Lucilla.

⁴ Apparently the one contained in *Marc.*, xv. 5, and repeated in the appendix to this biography, c. xi. 2.

VERUS

libertum proditum Marco, anteuentum¹ Lucium a Faustina,² ne praeveniret.

⁶ Fuit decorus corpore, vultu geniatus, barba prope barbarice demissa, procerus et fronte in supercilia adductiore venerabilis. dicitur sane tantam habuisse curam flaventium capillorum, ut capiti auri ramenta respergeret, quo magis coma inluminata flavesceret. ⁸ lingua impeditior fuit, aleae cupidissimus, vitae semper luxuriosae atque in pluribus Nero praeter ⁹ crudelitatem et ludibria. habuit inter alium luxuriae apparatus calicem crystallinum nomine Volucrem ex eius equi nomine quem dilexit, humanae potionis³ modum supergressum.

XI. Vixit annis quadraginta duobus. imperavit cum fratre annis undecim. inlatumque eius corpus est Hadriani sepulchro, in quo et Caesar pater eius naturalis sepultus est.

² Nota est fabula, quam Marci non capit vita, quod partem vulvae veneno inlitam, cum eam exsecuisset cultro una parte venenato, Marcus Vero porrexerit. ³ sed hoc ⁴ nefas est de Marco putari, quamvis Veri et ⁴ cogitata et facta mereantur. quod nos non in medio relinquemus sed totum purgatum confutatumque respuimus, cum adhuc post Marcum praeter vestram clementiam, Diocletiane Auguste, imperatorem talem nec adulatio videatur potuisse confingere.

¹ ante aduentum P. ² a Faustina Mommsen; a omitted in P. ³ positionis P. ⁴ se ad hoc P.

¹ Cf. Dio, lxxi. 3, 1 = Zonaras, xii. 2.

² See c. vi. 3.

³ Evidently an error, for he was born 15 Dec., 130 (c. i. 8), and died in Jan., 169.

⁴ An error; his reign was 161-169.

⁵ Cf. Marc., xx. 1 and note.

⁶ See note to c. x. 2.

cumvented Lucius in fear that he might circumvent her.¹

Verus was well-proportioned in person and genial of expression. His beard was allowed to grow long, almost in the style of the barbarians; he was tall, and stately in appearance, for his forehead projected somewhat over his eyebrows. He took such pride in his yellow hair, it is said, that he used to sift gold-dust on his head in order that his hair, thus brightened, might seem yellower. He was somewhat halting in speech, a reckless gambler, ever of an extravagant mode of life, and in many respects, save only that he was not cruel or given to acting, a second Nero. Among other articles of extravagance he had a crystal goblet, named Volucer after that horse of which he had been very fond,² that surpassed the capacity of any human draught.

XI. He lived forty-two years,³ and, in company with his brother, reigned eleven.⁴ His body was laid in the Tomb of Hadrian,⁵ where Caesar, his real father, was also buried.

There is a well-known story,⁶ which Marcus' manner of life will not warrant, that Marcus handed Verus part of a sow's womb which he had poisoned by cutting it with a knife smeared on one side with poison. But it is wrong even to think of such a deed in connection with Marcus, although the plans and deeds of Verus may have well deserved it; nor shall we leave the matter undecided, but rather reject it discarded and disproved, since from the time of Marcus onward, with the exception of your Clemency, Diocletian Augustus, not even flattery, it seems, has been able to fashion such an emperor.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS¹

VULCACII GALLICANI V.C.

I. Avidius Cassius, ut quidam volunt, ex familia Cassiorum fuisse dicitur, per matrem tamen; homine novo² genitus Avidio Severo, qui ordines duxerat et post ad summas dignitates pervenerat. cuius Quadratus in historiis meminit, et quidem graviter, cum illum summum virum et necessarium rei publicae adserit et apud ipsum Marcum praevalidum. nam iam eo imperante perisse fatali sorte perhibetur.

⁴ Hic ergo Cassius ex familia, ut diximus, Cassiorum, qui in curia in C. Iulium³ conspiraverant, oderat tacite principatum nec ferre poterat imperatorium nomen dicebatque esse eo gravius nomen⁴ imperii, quod non posset e re publica tolli nisi per alterum

¹In P the 9th Vita, i.e. following Pertinax. ²homine novo genitus Klebs, Prosop. i. p. 188; homine omitted in P; avo genitus Peter (vulg.). ³So P corr.; in ciuiliu P¹.

⁴Thus Peter with Mommsen; esse gravius nomine P.

¹The honorary title of *Vir Clarissimus* was regularly borne by senators during the later empire.

²In reality his name was C. Avidius Heliodorus. A native of Cyrrhus in Syria (see Dio, lxxi. 22, 2), he was made imperial secretary by Hadrian, and was prefect of Egypt under Antoninus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 6025 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 2615. He is probably to be identified with the *philosophus Heliodorus*, mentioned in *Hadr.*, xvi. 10. The expression *novus homo*

AVIDIUS CASSIUS.

BY

VULCACIUS GALLICANUS.

Of the Senatorial Order.¹

I. Avidius Cassius is said, according to the statements of some, to have belonged to the family of the Cassii, but only on his mother's side. His father was Avidius Severus,² the first of the family to hold public office, who at first commanded in the ranks,³ but later attained to the highest honours of the state. Quadratus⁴ mentions him in his history, and certainly with all respect, for he declares that he was a very distinguished man, both indispensable to the state and influential with Marcus himself; for he succumbed to the decrees of fate, it is said, when Marcus had already begun to rule.

Now Cassius, sprung, as we have said, from the family of the Cassii who conspired against Gaius Julius,⁵ secretly hated the principate and could not brook even the title of emperor, saying that the name of empire was all the more onerous because an was regularly used, as here, to denote the man who was the first of his family to hold public office.

² As chief centurion of a legion, or *primus pilus*; the expression is regularly used in this sense; see *Maxim.*, iv. 4; *Firm.*, xiv. 2; *Prob.*, iii. 2.

⁴ See note to *Ver.*, viii. 4.

⁵ *i.e.* C. Cassius Longinus and C. Cassius Parmensis.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS

- 5 imperatorem. denique temptasse in pueritia dicitur
extorquere etiam Pio principatum, sed per patrem,
virum sanctum et gravem, adfectionem tyrannidis
latuisse, habitum tamen semper a ducibus suspectum.
- 6 Vero autem illum parasse insidias, ipsius Veri epistula
7 indicat, quam inserui. ex epistula Veri: "Avidius
Cassius avidus est, quantum et mihi videtur et iam¹
sub avo meo, patre tuo, innotuit, imperii; quem velim
8 observari iubeas. omnia ei nostra displicent,² opes
non mediocres parat, litteras nostras ridet. te phil-
osopham aniculam, me luxuriosum morionem vocat.
9 vide quid agendum sit. ego hominem non odi, sed
vide ne tibi et liberis tuis non bene consulas,³ cum
talem inter praecinctos habeas qualem milites libenter
II. audiunt, libenter vident." rescriptum Marci de
Avidio Cassio: "Epistulam tuam legi, sollicitam
potius quam⁴ imperatoriam et non nostri temporis.
2 nam si ei divinitus debetur imperium, non poterimus
interficere, etiamsi velimus. scis enim proavi tui
dictum: 'successorem suum nullus occidit'. sin
minus, ipse sponte sine nostra crudelitate fatales
3 laqueos inciderit. adde quod non possumus reum
facere, quem et nullus accusat et, ut ipse dicis, milites

¹ *inde*, following *iam* in P, removed by Novak. ² *omnia ei nostra displicent* P corr. (*ediplicent* P¹); *omnia enim nostra ei d.* Peter. ³ *consulat* P. ⁴ *quam* omitted by P¹, added by P corr.

¹ It is now generally agreed that the letters and other alleged documents contained in this *vita* are pure forgeries, and the same is in general true about the other documents of this sort in the *Historia Augusta*; see Intro., p. xx.

² Pius. The allusion to Pius as the grandfather of Verus is in itself enough to prove the letter a forgery, since it presupposes that Verus was adopted by Marcus, which was not

emperor could not be removed from the state except by another emperor. In his youth, they say, he tried to wrest the empire from Pius too, but through his father, a righteous and worthy man, he escaped detection in this attempt to seize the throne, though he continued to be suspected by Pius' generals. Against Verus he organized a genuine conspiracy, as a letter of Verus' own, which I append, makes clear. Extract from the letter of Verus¹: "Avidius Cassius is avid for the throne, as it seems to me and as was well-known in the reign of my grandfather,² your father; I wish you would have him watched. Everything we do displeases him, he is amassing no inconsiderable wealth, and he laughs at our letters. He calls you a philosophical old woman, me a half-witted spend-thrift. Consider what should be done. I do not dislike the man, but look to it lest you take too little heed for yourself and for your children when you keep in active service a man whom the soldiers are glad to hear and glad to see." II. Marcus' answer concerning Avidius Cassius: "I have read your letter, which is that of a disquieted man rather than that of a general, and one not worthy of our times. For if the empire is divinely decreed to be his, we cannot slay him even should we so desire. Remember what your great-grandfather³ used to say, 'No one ever kills his successor'. And if this is not the case, he will of himself fall into the toils of fate without any act of cruelty on our part. Add that we cannot judge a man guilty whom no one has accused, and whom, as you say yourself, the soldiers love. Furthermore,

the case; see note to *Marc.*, v. 1. The forger is not consistent, for in c. ii. 5 Hadrian is referred to as Verus' grandfather.

² Trajan.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS

4amant, deinde in causis maiestatis haec natura est
5ut videantur vim pati etiam quibus probatur. scis
enim ipse quid avus tuus Hadrianus dixerit : ‘ misera
condicio imperatorum, quibus de adfectata¹ tyrannide
6nisi occisis non potest credi’. eius autem exemplum
ponere malui² quam Domitiani, qui hoc primus dixisse
fertur. tyrannorum enim etiam bona dicta non habent
7tantum auctoritatis quantum debent. sibi ergo
habeat suos mores, maxime cum bonus dux sit et
8severus et fortis et rei publicae necessarius. nam
quod dicis, liberis meis cavendum esse morte illius;
plane liberi mei pereant, si magis amari merebitur
Avidius quam illi, et si rei publicae expediet, Cassium
vivere quam liberos Marci.” haec de Cassio Verus,
haec Marcus.

III. Sed nos hominis naturam et mores breviter ex-
plicabimus. neque enim plura de his sciri possunt,
quorum vitam et inlustrare nullus audet eorum causa
2a quibus oppressi fuerint. addemus autem quemad-
modum ad imperium venerit et quemadmodum sit
3occisus et ubi victus. proposui enim, Diocletiane
Auguste, omnes qui imperatorum nomen sive iusta
causa sive iniusta³ habuerunt, in litteras mittere, ut
omnes purpuratos Augustos cognosceres.
4Fuit his moribus, ut nonnumquam trux et asper
videretur, aliquando mitis et lenis, saepe religiosus,
alias contemptor sacrorum, avidus vini item abstinens,

¹ *adfectata* Petschenig; *adfectu* P; *adfecta* Peter. ² *malui*
omitted by P¹, supplied by P corr. ³ *sive iusta causa sive*
iniusta Novak; *sive iniusta* P¹; *sive iuste sive iniuste* P
corr.; *sive iusta ex causa sive iniusta* Peter with Mommsen.

¹ It is attributed to Domitian in Suet., *Dom.* xxi.

² Cf. *Ael.*, i. 1.

in cases of treason it is inevitable that even those who have been proved guilty seem to suffer injustice. For you know yourself what your grandfather Hadrian said, 'Unhappy is the lot of emperors, who are never believed when they accuse anyone of pretending to the throne, until after they are slain'. I have preferred, moreover, to quote this as his, rather than as Domitian's,¹ who is reported to have said it first, for good sayings when uttered by tyrants have not as much weight as they deserve. So let Cassius keep his own ways, especially as he is an able general and a stern and brave man, and since the state has need of him. And as for your statement that I should take heed for my children by killing him, by all means let my children perish, if Avidius be more deserving of love than they and if it profit the state for Cassius to live rather than the children of Marcus." Thus did Verus, thus did Marcus, write about Cassius.

III. But let us briefly portray the nature and character of the man; for not very much can be known about those men whose lives no one has dared to render illustrious through fear of those by whom they were overcome. We will add, moreover, how he came to the throne, and how he was killed, and where he was conquered. For I have undertaken, Diocletian Augustus, to set down in writing the lives of all who have held the imperial title² whether rightfully or without right, in order that you may become acquainted with all the emperors that have ever worn the purple.

Such was his character, then, that sometimes he seemed stern and savage, sometimes mild and gentle, often devout and again scornful of sacred things, addicted to drink and also temperate, a lover of eat-

AVIDIUS CASSIUS

cibi adpetens et inediae patiens, Veneris cupidus et
 5 castitatis amator. nec defuerunt qui illum Catilinam
 vocarent, cum et ipse se ita gauderet appellari, addens
 futurum se Sergium si dialogistam occidisset, An-
 6 toninum hoc nomine significans, qui tantum enituit
 in philosophia, ut iturus ad bellum Marcomannicum,
 timentibus cunctis ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus
 sit non adulatione sed serio, ut praecepta philosophiae
 7 ederet. nec ille timuit, sed per ordinem paraeneseos¹
 8 per triduum disputavit. fuit praeterea disciplinae
 militaris Avidius Cassius tenax et qui se Marium dici
 vellet.

IV. Quoniam de severitate illius dicere coepimus,
 multa exstant crudelitatis potius quam severitatis eius
 2 indicia. nam primum milites qui aliquid provincialibus
 tulissent per vim, in illis ipsis locis, in quibus peccave-
 3 rant, in crucem sustulit. primus etiam id supplicii genus
 invenit, ut stipitem grandem poneret pedum octoginta
 et centum² et a summo usque ad imum damnatos
 ligaret et ab imo focum adponeret incensisque aliis
 4 alios fumo, cruciati, timore etiam necaret. idem
 denos catenatos in profluentem mergi iubebat vel in
 5 mare. idem multis desertoribus manus excidit, aliis
 crura incidit ac poplites, dicens maius exemplum esse

¹ The words *hoc est praeceptionum*, which follow *paraeneseos* in P, removed by Cas. ² The words *id est materiam*, following *centum* in P, removed by Cas.

¹ Apparently in allusion to Catiline's plan for the murder of Cicero, although Sallust's description of Catiline seems also to have been in the writer's mind.

² The τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν in 12 books.

ing yet able to endure hunger, a devotee of Venus and a lover of chastity. Nor were there lacking those who called him a second Catiline,¹ and indeed he rejoiced to hear himself thus called, and added that he would really be a Sergius if he killed the philosopher, meaning by that name Antoninus. For the emperor was so illustrious in philosophy that when he was about to set out for the Marcomannic war, and everyone was fearful that some ill-luck might befall him, he was asked, not in flattery but in all seriousness, to publish his "Precepts of Philosophy";² and he did not fear to do so, but for three days discussed the books of his "Exhortations" one after the other. Moreover, Avidius Cassius was a strict disciplinarian and wished to be called a Marius.³

IV. And since we have begun to speak of his strictness, there are many indications of what must be called savagery, rather than strictness, on his part. For, in the first place, soldiers who had forcibly seized anything from the provincials he crucified on the very spot where they had committed the crime. He was the first, moreover, to devise the following means of punishment: after erecting a huge post, 180 feet high, and binding condemned criminals on it from top to bottom, he built a fire at its base, and so burned some of them and killed the others by the smoke, the pain, and even by the fright. Besides this, he had men bound in chains, ten together, and thrown into rivers or even the sea. Besides this, he cut off the hands of many deserters, and broke the legs and hips of others, saying that a criminal alive and

³ As the type of a stern disciplinarian and successful general.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS

6 viventis ¹ miserabiliter criminosi quam occisi. cum exercitum duceret, et inscio ipso manus auxiliaria centurionibus suis auctoribus tria milia Sarmatarum negligentius agentum in Danuvii ripis occidissent et cum praeda ingenti ad eum redissent sperantibus centurionibus praemium, quod perparva manu tantum hostium segnius agentibus tribunis et ignorantibus occidissent, rapi eos iussit et in crucem tolli servilique supplicio addici, quod exemplum non exstabat, dicens evenire potuisse ut essent insidiae, ac periret Romani
7 imperii reverentia. et cum ingens seditio in exercitu ² orta esset, processit nudus campestri solo tectus et ait, "Perentite," inquit, "me, si audetis, et corruptae
8 disciplinae facinus addite". tunc conquiescentibus
9 cunctis meruit timeri, quia ipse ³ non timuit. quae res tantum disciplinae Romanis addidit, tantum terroris barbaris iniecit, ut pacem annorum centum ab Antonino absente peterent; si quidem viderant damnatos Romani ducis iudicio etiam eos qui contra fas vicerant.

V. De hoc multa gravia contra militum licentiam facta inveniuntur apud Aemilium Parthenianum, qui adfectatores tyrannidis iam inde a veteribus historiae
2 tradidit. nam et virgis caesos in foro et in mediis

¹ *aviventis* (*a* later erased) P; *aduiuentis* Peter ² with Baehrens. ² *in exercitum orta* P, Peter. ³ *ipse* om. by Peter.

¹ Known only from this citation.

wretched was a more terrible example than one who had been put to death. Once when he was commanding the army, a band of auxiliaries, at the suggestion of their centurions and without his knowledge, slaughtered 3,000 Sarmatians, who were camping somewhat carelessly on the bank of the Danube, and returned to him with immense plunder. But when the centurions expected a reward because they had slain such a host of the enemy with a very small force while the tribunes were passing their time in indolence and were even ignorant of the whole affair, he had them arrested and crucified, and punished them with the punishment of slaves, for which there was no precedent; "It might," he said, "have been an ambush, and the barbarians' awe for the Roman Empire might have been lost." And when a fierce mutiny arose in the camp, he issued forth clad only in a wrestler's loin-cloth and said: "Strike me, if you dare, and add the crime of murder to breach of discipline". Then, as all grew quiet, he was held in well deserved fear, because he had shown no fear himself. This incident so strengthened discipline among the Romans and struck such terror into the barbarians, that they besought the absent Antoninus for a hundred years' peace, since they had seen even those who conquered, if they conquered wrongfully, sentenced to death by the decision of a Roman general.

V. Many of the stern measures he took to put down the licence of the soldiers are recorded in the works of Aemilius Parthenianus,¹ who has related the history of the pretenders to the throne from ancient times even to the present. For example, after openly beating them with the lictors' rods in the forum and

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castris securi percussit, qui ita meruerunt, et manus
 3 multis amputavit. et praeter laridum ac buccellatum
 atque acetum militem in expeditione portare prohi-
 buit et si aliud quippiam repperit luxuriam non levi
 4 supplico adfecit. exstat de hoc epistula divi Marci
 5 ad praefectum suum talis: "Avidio Cassio legiones
 Syriacas dedi diffuentes luxuria et Daphnidis mori-
 bus agentes, quas totas exalldantes se repperisse Cae-
 6 sonius Vectilianus scripsit. et puto me non errasse,
 si quidem et tu notum habeas Cassium, hominem
 7 Cassianae severitatis et disciplinae. neque enim
 milites regi possunt nisi vetere disciplina. se is enim
 versum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequenta-
 tum:

‘Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque.’

8 tu tantum fac adsint legionibus abunde commeatus,
 quos, si bene Avidium novi, scio non perituros."
 9 praefecti ad Marcum: "Recte consulisti, mi domine,
 10 quod Cassium praefecisti¹ Syriacis legionibus. nihil
 enim tam expedit quam homo severior Graecanicis
 11 militibus. ille sane omnes exalldationes, omnes
 12 flores de capite collo et sinu militi excutiet. annona
 militaris omnis parata est, neque quicquam deest sub
 bono duce; non enim multum aut quaeritur aut
 VI. impenditur." nec fefellit de se iudicium habitum.

¹*praefecisti* P corr.; *praefectis* P¹.

¹ Also brought as a reproach against the Syrian army in *Alex.*, liii. 2.

² A line from Ennius' *Annales*, quoted in Cicero, *de Rep.*, v.; see Augustinus, *Civ. Dei*, ii. 21.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS V. 3—VI.

in the midst of the camp, he beheaded those who deserved it with the axe, and in numerous instances cut off his soldiers' hands. He forbade the soldiers, moreover, to carry anything when on the march save lard and biscuit and vinegar, and if he discovered anything else he punished the breach of discipline with no light hand. There is a letter concerning Cassius that the Deified Marcus wrote to his prefect, running somewhat as follows: "I have put Avidius Cassius in command of the Syrian legions, which are running riot in luxury and conducting themselves with the morals of Daphne; concerning these legions Caesonius Vectilianus has written that he found them all accustomed to bathe in hot water.¹ And I think I have made no mistake, for you too know Cassius, a man of true Cassian strictness and rigour. Indeed, the soldiers cannot be controlled except by the ancient discipline. You know what the good poet says, a line universally quoted:

'The state of Rome is rooted in the men and manners of the olden time.'²

Do you take care only that provisions are abundantly provided for the legions, for if I have judged Avidius correctly I know that they will not be wasted." The prefect's answer to Marcus runs: "You planned wisely, Sire, when you put Cassius in command of the Syrian legions. Nothing benefits Grecianized soldiers like a man who is somewhat strict. He will certainly do away with all warm baths, and will strike all the flowers from the soldiers' heads and necks and breasts. Food for the soldiers is all provided; and nothing is lacking under an able general, for but little is either asked or expended." VI. And

AVIDIUS CASSIUS

nam statim et ad signa edici iussit et programma in
 parietibus fixit, ut, si quis cinctus inveniretur apud
 2 Daphnen, discinctus rediret. arma militum septima
 die semper respexit, vestimenta etiam et calciamenta
 et ocreas, delicias omnes de castris summovit iussitque
 eos hiemem sub pellibus agere nisi corrigerent suos
 3 mores; et egissent, nisi honestius vixissent. exer-
 citium septimi diei fuit omnium militum, ita ut et
 4 sagittas mitterent et armis luderent. dicebat enim
 miserum esse, cum exercebantur athletae venatores et
 gladiatores, non exerceri milites; quibus minor esset
 futurus labor, si consuetus esset.

5 Ergo correcta disciplina et in Armenia et in Arabia
 6 et in Aegypto res optime gessit amatusque est ab
 omnibus orientalibus et speciatim ab Antiochensibus,
 qui etiam imperio eius consenserunt, ut docet Marius
 7 Maximus in vita divi Marci. nam et cum¹ Bucolici
 milites per Aegyptum gravia multa facerent, ab hoc
 retunsi sunt, ut item² Marius Maximus refert in eo
 libro quem secundum de vita Marci Antonini edidit.

VII. Hic imperatorem se in oriente appellavit, ut

¹ cum et P.

² item V; item Peter.

¹ Discinctus means
 punishment inflicted.

² An attention
 campaign
 out of S.
 Ctesiphon
 1-3

AVIDIUS CASSIUS VI. 2—VII

Cassius did not disappoint the expectation that had been formed of him, for he immediately had the proclamation made at assembly, and posted notices on the walls, that if any one were discovered at Daphne in his uniform he would return without it.¹ Regularly once a week he inspected his soldiers' equipment, even their clothes and shoes and leggings, and he banished all dissipation from the camp and issued an order that they would pass the winter in their tents if they did not mend their ways; and they would have done so, had they not conducted themselves more respectably. Once a week there was a drill of all the soldiers, in which they even shot arrows and engaged in contests in the use of arms. For he said that it was shameful that soldiers should not be trained, while athletes, wild beast fighters and gladiators were, for the soldiers' future labours, if familiar to them, would be less onerous.

And so, having stiffened military discipline, he conducted affairs in Armenia and Arabia and Egypt with the greatest success.² He was well loved by all the eastern nations, especially by the citizens of Antioch, who even acquiesced in his rule, as Marius Maximus relates in his *Life of the Deified Marcus*. And when the warriors of the *Bucolici* did many grievous things in Egypt, they were checked by Cassius,³ as Marius Maximus also relates in the second book of those he published on the *Life of Marcus*.

VII. Finally, while in the East,⁴ he proclaimed him-175

¹ See *Marc.*, xxi. 2 and note.

² After his victorious campaign against the Parthians he was appointed governor-general of all the eastern provinces; see *Dio*, lxxi. 3, 1.

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- quidam dicunt, Faustina volente, quae valetudini Marci iam diffidebat et timebat, ne infantes filios tueri sola non posset, atque aliquis exsisteret, qui capta statione
 2 regia infantes de medio tolleret. alii autem dicunt, hanc artem adhibuisse militibus et provincialibus Cassium contra Marci amorem, ut sibi posset consentiri, quod diceret Marcum diem suum obisse.
 3 nam et divum eum appellasse dicitur, ut desiderium illius leniret.
 4 Imperatorio animo cum processisset, eum qui sibi aptaverat ornamenta regia statim praefectum praetorii fecit; qui et ipse occisus est Antonino invito ab exercitu, qui et Maecianum, cui erat commissa Alexandria quique consenserat¹ spe participatus Cassio, invito atque ignorante Antonino interemit.
 5 Nec tamen Antoninus graviter est iratus rebellione cognita nec in eius liberos aut adfectus saevit.
 6 senatus illum hostem appellavit bonaque eius proscripsit. quae Antoninus in privatum aerarium congeri noluit, quare senatu praecipiente in aerarium
 7 publicum sunt relata. nec Romae terror defuit, cum

¹ *senserat* P.

¹ So also *Marc.*, xxiv. 6, and Dio, lxxi. 22, 3 f. Dio adds the not improbable story that Faustina bade Cassius hold himself in readiness, in case aught befell Marcus, to marry her and seize the sovereignty, and that when a false report of Marcus' death was brought he declared himself emperor. According to c. ix. 9, the version in the text was given by Marius Maximus.

² *i.e.* on receipt of the report of his death; see last note.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 4.

⁴ The prefect of Egypt, Flavius Calvisius, declared for Cassius; see Dio, lxxi. 28, 3. Evidence that Egypt recognized him as emperor is afforded by a papyrus, dated in the

self emperor, some say, at the wish of Faustina,¹ who now despaired of Marcus' health and was afraid that she would be unable to protect her infant children by herself, and that some one would arise and seize the throne and make away with the children. Others, however, say that Cassius employed an artifice with the soldiers and provincials to overcome their love for Marcus so that they would join him, saying that Marcus had met his end. And, indeed, he called him "the Deified,"² it is said, in order to lessen their grief for him.

When his plan of making himself emperor had been put into effect, he forthwith appointed prefect of the guard the man who had invested him with the imperial insignia. This man was later put to death by the army³ against the wishes of Antoninus. The army also slew Maecianus, in whose charge Alexandria had been placed; he had joined Cassius⁴ in the hope of sharing the sovereignty with him, and he too was slain against the wishes and without the knowledge of Antoninus.

For all that, Antoninus was not seriously angered on learning of this revolt, nor did he vent his rage on Cassius' children or on his kin. The senate, however, pronounced him a public enemy and confiscated his property.⁵ But Antoninus was unwilling that this should be forfeited to the privy-purse, and so, at the bidding of the senate, it was delivered to the public treasury. And there was no slight consternation at Rome; for many said that Avidius Cassius would advance on the city in the absence of

first year of Imperator Caesar Julius Avidius Cassius; see *Bull. Inst. Egypt.*, vii. (1896), p. 123.

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xxiv. 9.

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quidam Avidium Cassium dicerent absente Antonino, qui nisi a voluptariis unice amabatur, Romam esse venturum atque urbem tyrannice direpturum, maxime senatorum causa, qui eum hostem iudicaverant bonis
8 proscriptis. et amor Antonini hoc maxime enituit, quod consensu omnium praeter Antiochenses Avidius
9 interemptus est; quem quidem occidi non iussit sed passus est, cum apud cunctos clarum esset, si pote-
VIII. stas suae fuisset, parsurum¹ illi fuisse. caput eius ad Antoninum cum delatum esset, ille non exsultavit, non elatus est, sed etiam doluit ereptam sibi esse occasionem misericordiae, cum diceret se vivum illum voluisse capere, ut illi exprobraret beneficia
2 sua eumque servaret. denique cum quidam diceret reprehendendum Antoninum, quod tam mitis esset in hostem suum eiusque liberos et adfectus atque omnes quos conscios tyrannidis repperisset, addente illo qui reprehendebat "Quid si ille vicisset?" dixisse dicitur
"Non sic deos colimus nec sic vivimus, ut ille nos
3 vinceret". enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quemquam facile bonum vel victum a tyranno vel
4 occisum, dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem et Vitellium nec imperare voluisse.

¹ *parsurum* P corr. ; *passurum* P¹.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 3. According to Dio, lxxi. 27, 2-3, Cassius was killed by two petty-officers, who then took his head to Marcus.

² Nero committed suicide in order to escape death at the hands of the guard after Galba had been proclaimed emperor and he himself had been declared a public enemy by the senate; see *Suet.*, *Nero*, xlvii.-xlix. Caligula was assassinated by two officers of the guard; see *Suet.*, *Cal.*, lviii. Otho committed suicide after his defeat by the army of Vitellius

Antoninus, who was singularly loved by all but the profligates, and that he would ravage it like a tyrant, especially because of the senators who had declared him an enemy to the state and confiscated his property. The love felt for Antoninus was most clearly manifested in the fact that it was with the consent of all save the citizens of Antioch that Avidius was slain. Antoninus, indeed, did not so much order his execution as suffer it; for it was clear to all that he would have spared him had it been in his power. VIII. And when his head was brought to Antoninus he did not rejoice or exult,¹ but rather was grieved that he had lost an opportunity for showing mercy; for he said that he had wished to take him alive, so that he might reproach him with the kindness he had shown him in the past, and then spare his life. Finally, when some one said that Antoninus deserved blame because he was so indulgent toward his enemy and his enemy's children and kin, and indeed toward every one whom he had found concerned in the outbreak, and added furthermore, "What if Cassius had been successful?" the Emperor said, it is reported: "We have not worshipped the gods in such a manner, or lived such lives, that he could overcome us". Thereupon he pointed out that in the case of all the emperors who had been slain there had been reasons why they deserved to die, and that no emperor, generally recognized as good, had been conquered or slain by a pretender, adding that Nero had deserved to die and Caligula had forfeited his life, while neither Otho nor Vitellius had really wished to rule.² He expressed similar

(Suet., *Otho*, xi.), and Vitellius was murdered by the soldiers of Vespasian (Suet., *Vit.*, xvii).

- 5 etiam¹ de Galba² paria sentiebat, cum diceret in
imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum.
6 denique non Augustum, non Traianum, non Hadrianum, non patrem suum a rebellibus potuisse superari, cum et multi fuerint et ipsis vel invitis vel
7 insciis exstincti. ipse autem Antoninus a senatu petiit
ne graviter in conscios defectionis animadverteretur,
eo ipso tempore quo rogavit ne quis senator temporibus suis capitali supplicio adficeretur, quod illi
8 maximum amorem conciliavit. denique paucissimis centurionibus punitis deportatos revocari iussit.
IX. Antiochensibus,³ qui⁴ Avidio Cassio consenserant, et his⁵ et aliis civitatibus, quae illum iuverant, ignovit, cum primo Antiochensibus graviter iratus esset iisque spectacula sustulisset et multa alia civitatis ornamenta, quae postea reddidit, filios Avidii Cassii Antoninus Marcus parte media paterni patrimonii donavit, ita ut filias eius auro argento et gemmis
3 cohonestaret. nam et Alexandriae, filiae Cassii, et genero Drunciano liberam evagandi ubi vellent
4 potestatem dedit. vixeruntque non quasi tyranni pignora sed quasi senatorii ordinis in summa securitate, cum illis etiam⁶ in lite obici fortunam propriae vetuisset domus, damnatis aliquibus iniuriarum, qui

¹ So Peter with Boxhorn; nam P. ² de Pertinace et Galba P. ³ So P corr; antiochensis P¹. ⁴ qui P; quoque Peter with Madvig. ⁵ sed et his P, Peter². ⁶ illi seuam P¹; illis P corr.

¹ Galba's refusal to give the expected donative to the troops so embittered the soldiers that they refused to swear allegiance to him (Suet., *Galb.*, xvi.); his stinginess also caused the guard to join Otho in the conspiracy by which he was murdered (*id.*, xvii f.).

² Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 5-6 and note.

sentiments concerning Galba also, saying that in an emperor avarice was the most grievous of all failings.¹ And lastly, he said, no rebels had succeeded in overcoming either Augustus, or Trajan, or Hadrian, or his own father, and, although there had been many of them, they had been killed either against the wishes or without the knowledge of those emperors. Antoninus himself, moreover, asked the senate to refrain from inflicting severe punishment on those men who were implicated in the rebellion; he made this request at the very same time in which he requested that during his reign no senator be punished with capital punishment²—an act which won him the greatest affection. Finally, after he had punished a very few centurions, he gave orders that those who had been exiled should be recalled.³ IX. The citizens of Antioch also had sided with Avidius Cassius, but these, together with certain other states which had aided Cassius, he pardoned, though at first he was deeply angered at the citizens of Antioch and took away their games and many of the distinctions of the city, all of which he afterwards restored. To the sons of Avidius Cassius Antoninus presented half of their father's property,⁴ and his daughters he even graced with gold and silver and jewels. To Alexandria, Cassius' daughter, and Druncianus, his son-in-law, he gave unrestricted permission to travel wherever they liked. And they lived not as the children of a pretender but as members of the senatorial order and in the greatest security, as was shown by the orders he gave that not even in a law-suit should they be taunted with the fortunes of their family, and by his convicting certain people of personal affinity who

³ Cf. *Marc.*, xxv. 7 f.

⁴ Cf. *Marc.*, xxvi. 12.

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in eos petulantes fuissent. quos quidem amitae suae marito commendavit.

- 5 Si quis autem omnem hanc historiam scire desiderat, legat Marii Maximi secundum librum de vita Marci, in quo ille ea dicit quae solus¹ Marcus mortuo
6 iam Vero egit. tunc enim Cassius rebellavit, ut probat epistula missa ad Faustinam, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat,
7 quod cuperet imperare. audisse enim te arbitror
8 quod Veri statores² de eo nuntiarent. veni igitur in Albanum, ut tractemus omnia dis volentibus, nil
9 timens." hinc autem apparet Faustinam ista nescisse, cum dicat Marius infamari eam cupiens quod ea
10 conscia Cassius imperium sumpsisset. nam et ipsius epistula exstat ad virum, qua urget³ Marcum ut in
11 eum graviter vindicet. exemplum epistulae Faustinae ad Marcum: "Ipsa in Albanum cras, ut iubes, mox
veniam; tamen iam hortor, ut, si amas liberos tuos,
12 istos rebelliones acerrime persequaris. male enim assueverunt duces et milites,⁴ qui nisi opprimuntur,
X. oppriment." item alia epistula eiusdem Faustinae ad Marcum: "Mater mea Faustina patrem tuum
Pium in defectione⁵ Celsi hortata⁶ est, ut pietatem
2 primum circa suos servaret, sic circa alienos. non enim pius est imperator, qui non cogitat uxorem et
3 filios. Commodus noster vides in qua aetate sit,
4 Pompeianus gener et senior est et peregrinus. vide

¹ *solum P.* ² So Peter with Salm.; *herispatores P.*
³ *urget P; urguet edd.* ⁴ *et duces milites P¹; et duces et milites P corr.* ⁵ *eiusdem in def. P; eiusdem removed by Cas.* ⁶ *sic hortata P; sic removed by Novak; cohortata Peter².*

¹ See note to c. i. 7.

² See note to c. vii. 1.

³ Nothing is known of any such revolt.

had been insulting to them. He even put them under the protection of his uncle by marriage.

If any one wishes, moreover, to know the whole of this story, let him read the second book of Marius Maximus on the life of Marcus, in which he relates everything that Marcus did as sole emperor after the death of Verus. For it was during this time that Cassius rebelled, as a letter written to Faustina shows, from which the following is an extract: ¹ "Verus told me the truth about Avidius, that he desired to rule. For I presume you heard what Verus' messengers reported about him. Come, then, to our Alban villa, so that with the help of the gods we may prepare for everything, and do not be afraid." It would appear from this that Faustina knew nothing of the affair, though Marius Maximus, wishing to defame her, says that it was with her connivance that Cassius attempted to seize the throne.² Indeed, we have also a letter of hers to her husband in which she urges Marcus to punish Cassius severely. A copy of Faustina's letter to Marcus reads: "I shall come to our Alban villa to-morrow, as you command. Yet I urge you now, if you love your children, to punish those rebels with all severity. For soldiers and generals have an evil habit of crushing others if they are not crushed themselves." X. Another letter of this same Faustina to Marcus reads similarly: "When Celsus revolted,³ my mother, Faustina, urged your father, Pius, to deal righteously first with his own kin, and then with strangers. For no emperor is righteous who does not take thought for his wife and children. You can see how young our son Commodus is; our son-in-law Pompeianus⁴ is an elderly man and a foreigner be-

⁴ See *Marc.*, xx. 6.

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5 quid agas de Avidio Cassio et de eius consciis. nobis
 6 parcere hominibus, qui tibi non pepercerunt et nec
 7 mihi nec filiis nostris parcerent, si vicissent. ipsa
 8 iter tuum mox consequor; quia Fadilla nostra
 9 aegrotabat, in Formianum venire non potui. sed si
 10 te Formiis invenire non potuero, adsequar Capuam,
 quae civitas et meam et filiorum nostrorum aegri-
 tudinem poterit adiuvere. Soteridam medicum in
 Formianum ut demittas, rogo. ego autem Pisitheo
 nihil credo, qui puellae virgini curationem nescit
 adhibere. signatas¹ mihi litteras Calpurnius dedit;
 ad quas rescribam, si tardavero, per Caecilium senem
 spadonem, hominem, ut scis, fidelem. cui verbo
 mandabo, quid uxor Avidii Cassii et filii et gener de
 te iactare dicantur."

XI. Ex his litteris intellegitur Cassio Faustinam
 consciam non fuisse, quin etiam supplicium eius
 graviter exegisse, si quidem Antoninum quiescentem
 et clementiora cogitantem ad vindictae necessitatem
 2 impulit. cui² Antoninus quid rescripserit, subdita
 3 epistula perdocebit: "Tu quidem, mea Faustina,
 religiose pro marito et pro nostris liberis agis. nam
 relegi epistulam tuam in Formiano, qua me hortaris,
 4 ut in Avidii conscios vindicem. ego vero et eius
 liberis parcam et genero et uxori, et ad senatum
 scribam, ne aut proscriptio gravior sit aut poena
 5 crudelior. non enim quicquam est, quod imperatorem
 Romanum melius commendet gentibus quam cle-

¹ *signitas* P, which Ellis thinks perhaps right in sense of
 "in cipher". ² *cū*, i.e. *cum*. P.

Sides. Consider well what you will do about Avidius Cassius and his accomplices. Do not show forbearance to men who have shown no forbearance to you and would show none either to me or to your children, should they be victorious. I shall follow you on your way presently; I have not been able to come to the Formian villa because our dear Fadilla¹ was ill. However, if I shall fail to find you at Formiae, I will follow on to Capua, a city which can furnish help to me and our children in our sickness. Please send the physician Soteridas to Formiae. I have no confidence in Pisitheus, who does not know how to treat a young girl. Calpurnius has brought me a sealed letter; I shall reply to it, if I linger on here, through Caecilius, the old eunuch, a man to be trusted, as you know. I shall also report through him, in a verbal message, what Cassius' wife and children and son-in-law are said to be circulating about you."

XI. From these letters it can be seen that Faustina was not in collusion with Cassius, but, on the contrary, earnestly demanded his punishment; for, indeed, it was she who urged on Antoninus the necessity of vengeance when he was inclined to take no action and was considering more merciful measures. The following letter tells what Antoninus wrote to her in reply: "Truly, my Faustina, you are over-anxious about your husband and children. For while I was at Formiae I re-read the letter wherein you urged me to take vengeance on Avidius' accomplices. I, however, shall spare his wife and children and son-in-law, and I will write to the senate forbidding any immoderate confiscation or cruel punishment. For there is nothing which endears a Roman emperor to

¹ Arria Fadilla, fourth child of Marcus, born about 150.

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6 mentia. haec Caesarem deum fecit, haec Augustum
consecravit, haec patrem tuum specialiter Pii nomine
7 ornavit. denique si ex mea sententia de bello iudi-
8 catum esset, nec Avidius esset occisus. esto igitur
secura ;

‘di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
— — cordi est’.

Pompeianum nostrum in annum sequentem con-
sulem dixi.” haec Antoninus ad coniugem.

XII. Ad senatum autem qualem orationem miserit,
2 interest scire. ex oratione Marci Antonini : “ Ha-
betis igitur, patres conscripti, pro gratulatione
victoriae generum meum consulem, Pompeianum
dico, cuius aetas olim remuneranda fuerat consulatu,
nisi viri fortes intervenissent, quibus reddi debuit
3 quod a re publica debebatur. nunc quod ad defec-
tionem Cassianam pertinet, vos oro atque obsecro,
patres conscripti, ut censura vestra deposita meam pie-
tatem clementiamque servetis, immo vestram, neque
4 quemquam¹ senatus occidat. nemo senatorum punia-
tur, nullius fundatur viri nobilis sanguis, deportati rede-
5 ant, proscripti bona recipiant. utinam possem multos²
etiam ab inferis excitare! non enim umquam placet
in imperatore vindicta sui doloris, quae si iustior
6 fuerit, acrior videtur. quare filiis Avidii Cassii et

¹ *quemquam ullum* P ; *ullum* removed by Lessing ; *quem-*
quam unum Peter. ² *multos* P, which Lessing restores ;
multatos Peter.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, xxiv. 4 ; *Pius*, ii. 4.

² Horace, *Odes*, i. 17, 13.

³ The fact that the second consulship of Pompeianus (see *Marc.*, xx. 6) was in 173, two years prior to Cassius' revolt, shows that this letter is not genuine.

mankind as much as the quality of mercy. This quality caused Caesar to be deified and made Augustus a god, and it was this characteristic, more than any other, that gained your father his honourable name of Pius.¹ Indeed, if the war had been settled in accordance with my desires, Avidius would not have been killed. So do not be anxious ;

‘Over me the gods keep guard, the gods hold dear my righteousness.’²

I have named our son-in-law Pompeianus consul for next year.”³ Thus did Antoninus write to his wife.

XII. It is of interest, moreover, to know what sort of a message he sent to the senate. An extract from the message of Marcus Antoninus : “So then, in return for this manifestation of joy at our victory, Conscript Fathers, receive my son-in-law as consul—Pompeianus, I mean, who has come to an age that were long since rewarded with the consulship, had there not stood in the way certain brave men, to whom it was right to give what was due them from the state. And now, as to Cassius’ revolt, I pray and beseech you, Conscript Fathers, lay aside your severity, and preserve the righteousness and mercy that are mine—nay rather I should say, yours—and let the senate put no man to death. Let no senator be punished ; let the blood of no distinguished man be shed ; let those who have been exiled return to their homes ; let those who have been outlawed recover their estates. Would that I could also recall many from the grave ! Vengeance for a personal wrong is never pleasing in an emperor, for the juster the vengeance is, the harsher it seems. Wherefore, you will grant pardon to the sons and son-in-law and wife of Avidius Cassius. For that matter,

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genero et uxori veniam dabit. et quid dico veniam?
 7 cum illi nihil fecerint. vivant igitur securi, scientes
 sub Marco vivere. vivant in patrimonio parentum
 pro parte donato, auro argento vestibus fruantur, sint
 divites, sint securi, sint vagi et liberi et per ora om-
 nium ubique populorum circumferant meae, circum-
 8 ferant vestrae pietatis exemplum. nec magna haec
 est, patres conscripti, clementia, veniam proscriptorum
 9 liberis et coniugibus dari. ego vero a vobis peto, ut
 conscios senatorii ordinis et equestris a caede, a pro-
 scriptione, a timore, ab infamia, ab invidia, et postremo
 ab omni vindicetis iniuria detisque hoc meis tem-
 10 poribus, ut in causa tyrannidis qui in tumultu cecidit
 probetur occisus."

XIII. Hanc eius clementiam senatus his adclama-
 2 tionibus prosecutus est: "Antonine pie, di te servent.
 Antonine clemens, di te servent. Antonine clemens,¹
 3 di te servent. tu voluisti quod licebat, nos fecimus
 quod decebat. Commodus imperium iustum rogamus.
 progeniem tuam roboram. fac securi sint liberi nostri.
 4 bonum imperium nulla vis laedit. Commodus Antonino
 tribuniciam potestatem rogamus, praesentiam tuam
 5 rogamus. philosophiae tuae, patientiae tuae, doc-
 trinae tuae, nobilitati tuae, innocentiae tuae. vincis
 inimicos, hostes exsuperas, di te tuentur," et reli-
 qua.

6 Vixerunt igitur posterius Avidii Cassii securi et ad

¹ So P; repetition from the preceding has crowded out some other adj.

¹ For similar outcries alleged to have taken place in the senate see *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; *Alex.*, vi.-xi.

² Bestowed in 177; see *Marce.*, xxvii, 5, and note.

why should I say pardon? They have done nothing. Let them live, therefore, free from all anxiety, knowing that they live under Marcus. Let them live in possession of their parents' property, granted to each in due proportion; let them enjoy gold, silver, and raiment; let them be rich; let them be free from anxiety; let them, unrestricted and free to travel wheresoever they wish, carry in themselves before the eyes of all nations everywhere an example of my forbearance, an example of yours. Nor is it any great act of mercy, Conscrip Fathers, to grant pardon to the wives and children of outlawed men. I do beseech you to save these conspirators, men of the senatorial and equestrian orders, from death, from proscription, from terror, from disgrace, from hatred, and, in short, from every harm, and to grant this to my reign, that whoever, in the cause of the pretender, has fallen in the strife may, though slain, still be esteemed."

XIII. The senate honoured this act of mercy with these acclamations: ¹ "God save you, righteous Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. God save you, merciful Antoninus. You have desired what was lawful, we have done what was fitting. We ask lawful power for Commodus. Strengthen your offspring. Make our children free from care. No violence troubles righteous rule. We ask the tribunician power ² for Commodus Antoninus. We beseech your presence. All praise to your philosophy, your patience, your principles, your magnanimity, your innocence! You conquer your foes within, you prevail over those without, the gods are watching over you," and so forth.

And so the descendants of Avidius Cassius lived unmolested and were admitted to offices of honour.

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7 honores admissi sunt. sed eos Commodus Antoninus
 post excessum divi patris sui omnes vivos incendi
 iussit, quasi in factione deprehensos.
 8 Haec sunt quae de Cassio Avidio comperimus.
 9 cuius ipsius mores, ut supra diximus, varii semper fue-
 runt sed ad censuram crudelitatemque propensiores.
 10 qui, si optinuisset imperium, fuisset non clemens et
 XIV. bonus,¹ sed utilis et optimus imperator. nam exstat
 epistula eius ad generum suum iam imperatoris huius-
 2 modi: " Misera res publica, quae istos divitiarum
 3 cupidos et divites patitur, misera. Marcus homo sane
 optimus, qui dum clemens dici cupit,² eos patitur
 4 vivere quorum ipse non probat vitam. ubi Lucius
 Cassius, cuius nos frustra tenet nomen? ubi Marcus
 ille Cato Censorius? ubi omnis disciplina maiorum?
 quae olim quidem intercidit, nunc vero nec quaeritur.
 5 Marcus Antoninus philosophatur et quaerit de ele-
 mentis³ et de animis et de honesto et iusto nec
 6 sentit pro re publica. vides multis opus esse gladii,
 multis elogiis, ut in antiquum statum publica forma
 7 reddatur. ego vero istis praesidibus provinciarum—
 an ego proconsules, an ego praesides putem, qui ob
 hoc sibi a senatu et ab Antonino provincias datas cre-
 8 dunt, ut luxurientur, ut divites fiant? audisti, prae-
 fectum praetorii nostri philosophi ante triduum quam

¹ So Vielhaber; *non modo clemens sed bonus* P; *non modo c.* et *b.* Peter.

² So P; Peter by error attributes *clementes* to P, and reads, following Petschenig, *clementem se.*

³ *de clementis* P¹; *de clementiis* P corr.

AVIDIUS CASSIUS XIII. 7—XIV. 8

But after his deified father's death Commodus Antoninus ordered them all to be burned alive, as if they had been caught in a rebellion.

So much have we learned concerning Avidius Cassius. His character, as we have said before,¹ was continually changing, though inclined, on the whole, to severity and cruelty. Had he gained the throne, he would have made not a merciful and kind emperor but a beneficent and excellent one. XIV. For we have a letter of his, written to his son-in-law after he had declared himself emperor, that reads somewhat as follows: "Unhappy state, unhappy, which suffers under men who are eager for riches and men who have grown rich! Marcus is indeed the best of men, but one who wishes to be called merciful and hence suffers to live men whose manner of life he cannot sanction. Where is Lucius Cassius,² whose name we bear in vain? Where is that other Marcus, Cato the Censor? Where is all the rigour of our fathers? Long since indeed has it perished, and now it is not even desired. Marcus Antoninus philosophizes and meditates on first principles, and on souls and virtue and justice, and takes no thought for the state. There is need, rather, for many swords, as you see for yourself, and for much practical wisdom, in order that the state may return to its ancient ways. And truly in regard to those governors of provinces—can I deem proconsuls or governors those who believe that their provinces were given them by the senate and Antoninus only in order that they might revel and grow rich? You have heard that our philo-

¹ c. iii. 4.

² Evidently an error for C. Cassius Longinus; see note to c. i. 4.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

- I. De Commodi Antonini parentibus in vita Marci
2 Antonini satis est disputatum. ipse autem natus est
apud Lanuvium cum fratre Antonino gemino pridie
kal. Sept. patre patruoque consulibus, ubi et avus
3 maternus dicitur natus. Faustina cum esset Com-
modo cum fratre praegnans, visa est in somnis
4 serpentes parere, sed ex his unum ferociorem. cum
autem peperisset Commodum atque Antoninum,
Antoninus quadrimus elatus est, quem parem astrorum
5 cursu Commodum mathematici promittebant. mortuo
igitur fratre Commodum Marcus et suis praeceptis
et magnorum atque optimorum virorum erudire co-
6 natus est. habuit litteratorem Graecum Onesicratem,
Latinum Capellam Antistium ; orator ei Ateius San-
ctus fuit.
- 7 Sed tot disciplinarum magistri nihil ei profuerunt.
tantum valet aut ingenii vis aut eorum qui in aula
institutores habentur. nam a prima statim pueritia
turpis, improbus, crudelis, libidinosus, ore quoque pol-

¹ *Marc.*, i. 1-4.

² Cf. *Pius*, i. 8.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The ancestry of Commodus Antoninus has been sufficiently discussed in the life of Marcus Antoninus.¹ As for Commodus himself, he was born, with his twin brother Antoninus, at Lanuvium—where his mother's father was born, it is said²—on the day before the Kalends of September, while his father and uncle^{31 Aug., 161} were consuls. Faustina, when pregnant with Commodus and his brother, dreamed that she gave birth to serpents, one of which, however, was fiercer than the other. But after she had given birth to Commodus and Antoninus, the latter, for whom the astrologers had forecast a horoscope as favourable as that of Commodus, lived to be only four years old. After the death of Antoninus, Marcus tried to educate Commodus by his own teaching and by that of the greatest and the best of men. In Greek literature he had Onesicrates as his teacher, in Latin, Antistius Capella; his instructor in rhetoric was Ateius Sanctus.

However, teachers in all these studies profited him not in the least—such is the power, either of natural character, or of the tutors maintained in a palace. For even from his earliest years he was base and dishonourable, and cruel and lewd, defiled of mouth, more-

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

8 latus et constupratus¹ fuit. iam in his artifex, quae stationis imperatoriae non erant, ut calices fingeret, saltaret, cantaret, sibilaret, scurram denique et gladiatorum perfectum ostenderet. auspiciū crudelitatis apud Centumcellas dedit anno aetatis duodecimo. nam cum tepidius forte lautus esset, balneatorem in fornacem conici iussit; quando a paedagogo, cui hoc iussum fuerat, vervecina pellis in fornace consumpta est, ut fidem poenae de foetore nidoris impleret.

- 10 Appellatus est autem Caesar puer cum fratre suo Vero.² quarto decimo aetatis anno in collegium II. sacerdotum³ adscitus est. cooptatus est inter trossulos⁴ principes⁵ iuventutis, cum togam sumpsit. adhuc in praetexta puerili congiarium dedit atque 2 ipse in Basilica Traiani praesedit. indutus autem toga est Nonarum Iuliarum die, quo in terris Romulus non apparuit, et eo tempore quo Cassius a Marco 3 descendit. profectus est commendatus militibus cum patre in Syriam et Aegyptum et cum⁶ eo Romam

¹ constuppatus P. ² suo Vero Ursinus; Seuero P.
³ sacerdotis P. ⁴ trossulos Lipsius; tres solos P. ⁵ princeps P. ⁶ so P corr.; et cum om. in P¹.

¹ Dio, on the other hand, describes him as not naturally vicious, but weak and easily influenced; see lxxii, 1, 1.

² On the coast of Etruria, near the southern end; it is the modern Civitā Vecchia.

³ Cf. c. xi. 13; Marc., xii. 8 and note.

⁴ M. Annius Verus, who died in 169; see Marc., xxi. 3.

⁵ Cf. c. xii. 1; Marc., xvi. 1 and note. His election to the college of pontifices is commemorated on a coin; see Cohen, iii², p. 311, no. 599.

⁶ Cf. c. xii. 3; Marc., xxii. 12 and note.

⁷ See note to Marc., vi. 3. The title *princeps iuventutis* appears on his coins of this period (Cohen iii², p. 311 f., nos. 601-618), and in an inscription from Africa (C.I.L., viii. 11928). *Trossuli* was an old name given to the Roman

COMMODUS ANTONINUS I. 8—II. 3

over, and debauched.¹ Even then he was an adept in certain arts which are not becoming in an emperor for he could mould goblets and dance and sing and whistle, and he could play the buffoon and the gladiator to perfection. In the twelfth year of his life, at Centumcellae,² he gave a forecast of his cruelty. For when it happened that his bath was drawn too cool, he ordered the bathkeeper to be cast into the furnace; whereupon the slave who had been ordered to do this burned a sheep-skin in the furnace, in order to make him believe by the stench of the vapour that the punishment had been carried out.

While yet a child he was given the name of ^{12 Oct.,} Caesar,³ along with his brother Verus,⁴ and in his four-¹⁶⁶teenth year he was enrolled in the college of priests.⁵ ^{20 Jan.,} ¹⁷⁵

II. When he assumed the toga,⁶ he was elected one of the leaders of the equestrian youths,⁷ the trossuli, and even while still clad in the youth's praetexta he gave largess⁸ and presided in the Hall of Trajan.⁹ He assumed the toga on the Nones of July—the day on ^{7 July,} which Romulus vanished from the earth—at the ¹⁷⁵ time when Cassius revolted from Marcus. After he had been commended to the favour of the soldiers he set out with his father for Syria¹⁰ and Egypt, and with him he returned to Rome.¹¹ Afterward he was

cavalry. It was supposed to have been derived from Tros-sulum, a town captured by the cavalry, but even in the second century B.C., its meaning was no longer understood; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxiii. 2, 35 f.

⁸ Commemorated on coins; see Cohen, iii², p. 266 f., nos. 291-294.

⁹ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 6.

¹⁰ In July, 175. See *Marc.*, xxv. 1.

¹¹ See *Marc.*, xxvii. 3. Commodus' return to Rome was celebrated by an issue of coins with the legend *Adventus Caes(aris)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 228, nos. 1-2.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

accediit. post haec venia legis annariae impetrata consul est factus, et cum patre imperator est appellatus V kal. Dec. die Pollione et Apro consulibus et triumphavit cum patre. nam et hoc patres decreverant. profectus est cum patre et ad Germanicum bellum.

6 Adhibitos custodes vitae suae honestiores ferre non potuit, pessimos quosque detinuit et summos usque
7 ad aegritudinem desideravit. quibus per patris molitiem restitutis popinas et ganeas in Palatinis semper aedibus fecit neque umquam pepereit vel pudori vel
8 sumptui. in domo aleam exercuit. muliereulas formae scitioris ut prostibula mancipia per speciem¹ lupanarium et ludibrium pudicitiae contraxit. imitatus est propolas circumforanos. equos currules sibi comparavit. aurigae habitu currus rexit, gladiatoribus convixit, atque se² gessit ut lenonum minister, ut probris natum magis quam ei loco eum crederes,³ ad quem fortuna provexit.

III. Patris ministeria seniora summovit, amicos senes
2 abiecit. filium Salvii Iuliani, qui exercitibus praeerat,

¹ *per speciem* Turnebus; *perficium* Pl; *perficiens* P corr.
² *atque se* Editor; *aquam* P, Peter. ³ *crederet* P.

¹ Cf. *Marc.*, xii. 12 and note.

² On the occasion of Marcus' triumph; see c. xii. 4; *Marc.*, xvi. 2 and note.

³ See c. xii. 5 and note to *Marc.*, xvii. 3.

⁴ See c. xii. 6 and *Marc.*, xvii. 9.

⁵ But not in public, except on moonless nights; see Dio, lxxii. 17, 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS II. 4—III. 2

granted exemption from the law of the appointed year and made consul,¹ and on the fifth day before the Kalends of December, in the consulship of Pollio and Aper, he was acclaimed Imperator together with his father,² and celebrated a triumph with him.³ For this, too, the senate had decreed. Then he set out with his father for the German war.⁴

The more honourable of those appointed to supersede his life he could not endure, but the most evil he retained, and, if any were dismissed, he yearned for them even to the point of falling sick. And when they were reinstated through his father's indulgence, he always maintained eating-houses and low resorts or them in the imperial palace. He never showed regard for either decency or expense. He dined in his own home. He herded together women of unusual beauty, keeping them like purchased prostitutes in a sort of brothel for the violation of their chastity. He imitated the hucksters that strolled about from market to market. He procured chariot-horses for his own use. He drove chariots in the garb of a professional charioteer,⁵ lived with gladiators, and conducted himself like a procurer's servant. Indeed, one would have believed him born rather to a life of infamy than to the high place to which Fortune advanced him.

III. His father's older attendants he dismissed,⁶ and his friends⁷ that were advanced in years he cast aside.

¹ *e.g.* Tarrutenius Paternus, now prefect of the guard (see c. iv. 1), and C. Aufidius Victorinus, governor of Germania Superior under Marcus. He retained his father's friends for a "few years" (Herodian, i. 8, 1), *i.e.* until about 83.

⁷ See note to *Hel.*, xi. 2.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

ob¹ impudicitiam frustra temptavit atque exinde
 3 Iuliano tetendit insidias. honestissimos quosque aut
 per contumeliam aut per honorem indignissimum
 4 abiecit. appellatus est a mimis quasi obstupratus
 eosdemque ita ut non apparerent subito deportavit.
 5 bellum etiam quod pater paene confecerat legibus
 hostium addictus remisit ac Romam reversus est.
 6 Romam ut rediit, subactore suo Saotero post se in
 curro locato ita triumphavit ut eum saepius² cervice
 reflexa publice oscularetur. etiam in orchestra hoc
 7 idem fecit. et cum potaret in lucem helluareturque
 viribus Romani imperii, vespera etiam per tabernas ac
 8 lupanaria volitavit. misit homines ad provincias
 regendas vel criminum socios vel a criminosis com-
 9 mendatos. in senatus odium ita venit³ ut et ipse
 crudeliter in tanti ordinis perniciem saeviret fieretque
 e contempto crudelis.

IV. Vita Commodi Quadratum et Lucillam compulit
 ad eius interfectionem consilia inire, non sine prae-

¹ ob P. Petschenig; ad Peter. ² saepius P. ³ uehit Pl.

¹ P. Salvius Julianus, consul in 175. He was apparently in command of troops on the Rhine.

² See c. iv. 8.

³ According to Herodian (i. 6) he gave up the war against the advice of Marcus' friends and advisers, especially his own brother-in-law, Pompeianus. He did, however, force the Quadi, Marcomanni, and Buri to accept terms of peace which were not discreditable to Rome (Dio, lxxii. 2-3) and was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fourth time.

⁴ For the official expression of reception see c. xii. 7. His return is commemorated by coins of 180 with the legends *Adventus Aug(usti)* and *Fort(una) Red(ux)*; see Cohen, iii², p. 228, no. 8, and p. 248, no. 165.

⁵ Called in an inscription *triumphus felicissimus Germanicus secundus*; see *C.I.L.*, xiv. 2922 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1420.

⁶ Cf. *Ver.*, iv. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS III. 3—IV.

The son of Salvius Julianus, the commander of the troops,¹ he tried to lead into debauchery, but in vain, and he thereupon plotted against Julianus.² He degraded the most honourable either by insulting them directly or giving them offices far below their deserts. He was alluded to by actors as a man of depraved life, and he thereupon banished them so promptly that they did not again appear upon the stage. He abandoned the war which his father had almost finished and submitted to the enemy's terms,³ and then he returned to Rome.⁴ After he had come 22 Oct., 180 back to Rome he led the triumphal procession⁵ with Saoterus, his partner in depravity, seated in his chariot, and from time to time he would turn around and kiss him openly, repeating this same performance even in the orchestra. And not only was he wont to drink until dawn and squander the resources of the Roman Empire, but in the evening he would ramble through taverns and brothels.⁶ He sent out to rule the provinces men who were either his companions in crime or were recommended to him by criminals. He became so detested by the senate that he in his turn was moved with cruel passion for the destruction of that great order,⁷ and from having been despised he became bloodthirsty.

IV. Finally the actions of Commodus drove Quadratus and Lucilla,⁸ with the support of Tarrutenius

⁷ Especially after the conspiracy of Quadratus and Lucilla, according to Herodian, i. 8, 7.

⁸ On this conspiracy, formed probably toward the end of 182, see Dio, lxxii. 4, 4-5, and Herodian, i. 8, 3-6. Quadratus was probably the grandson of Marcus' sister; see *Marc.*, vii. 4. Lucilla was Commodus' elder sister, the wife of Lucius Verus, and after his death, of Claudius Pompeianus; see *Marc.*, xx, 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- 2 facti praetorio Tarrutenii Paterni consilio. datum autem est negotium peragendae necis Claudio Pompeiano
 3 propinquo. qui ingressus ad Commodum dstricto gladio, cum faciendi potestatem habuisset, in haec verba prorumpens 'Hunc tibi pugionem senatus mittit' detexit facinus fatuus nec implevit, multis cum
 4 eo participantibus causam. post haec interfecti sunt Pompeianus primo et Quadratus, dein Norbana atque Norbanus et Paralius; et mater eius et Lucilla in exsilium exacta.
- 5 Tum praefecti praetorio cum vidissent Commodum in tantum odium incidisse obtentu Saoteri, cuius potentiam populus Romanus ferre non poterat, urbane Saoterum eductum a Palatio sacrorum causa et redeuntem in hortos suos per frumentarios occiderunt.
- 6 id vero gravius quam de se ipso Commodus fuit.
- 7 Paternum autem et huius caedis auctorem et, quantum videbatur, paratae necis Commodi conscium et interventorem, ne coniuratio latius puniretur, instigante Tigidio per lati clavi honorem a praefecturae administratione summovit. post paucos dies insinulavit eum coniurationis, cum diceret ob hoc promissam Iuliani filio filiam Paterni, ut in Iulianum

¹ According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 2, Paternus had no share in the conspiracy.

² Apparently Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus, the son of Lucilla's husband, Claudius Pompeianus, by a former marriage. Herodian speaks of him as a youth at this time.

³ Lucilla was exiled to Capri, where she was put to death; see c. v. 7.

⁴ See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

⁵ Tigidius Perennis, appointed co-prefect with Paternus in 182.

⁶ He was granted the right to wear the broad purple stripe on his tunic, the exclusive privilege of the senatorial

Paternus, the prefect of the guard,¹ to form a plan for his assassination. The task of slaying him was assigned to Claudius Pompeianus, a kinsman.² But he, as soon as he had an opportunity to fulfil his mission, strode up to Commodus with a drawn sword, and, bursting out with these words, "This dagger the senate sends thee," betrayed the plot like a fool, and failed to accomplish the design, in which many others along with himself were implicated. After this fiasco, first Pompeianus and Quadratus were executed, and then Norbana and Norbanus and Paralius; and the latter's mother and Lucilla were driven into exile.³

Thereupon the prefects of the guard, perceiving that the aversion in which Commodus was held was all on account of Saoterus, whose power the Roman people could not endure, courteously escorted this man away from the Palace under pretext of a sacrifice, and then, as he was returning to his villa, had him assassinated by their private agents.⁴ But this deed enraged Commodus more than the plot against himself. Paternus, the instigator of this murder, who was believed to have been an accomplice in the plot to assassinate Commodus and had certainly sought to prevent any far-reaching punishment of that conspiracy, was now, at the instigation of Tigidius,⁵ dismissed from the command of the praetorian guard by the expedient of conferring on him the honour of the broad stripe.⁶ And a few days thereafter, Commodus accused him of plotting, saying that the daughter of Paternus had been betrothed to the son of Julianus⁷ with the under-

order. For other instances of the elevation of a prefect of the guard into the senatorial order see note to *Had.*, viii. 7.

⁷ See c. iii. 1-2, and for his execution Dio, lxxii. 5, 1.

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transferretur imperium. quare et Paternum et Iulianum et Vitruvium Secundum, Paterni familiarissimum, qui epistulas imperatorias curarat, interfecit. ⁹ domus praeterea Quintiliorum omnis exstincta, quod Sextus Condiani ¹ filius specie mortis ad defectionem ¹⁰ diceretur evasisse. interfecta et Vitrasia Faustina et ¹¹ Velius Rufus et Egnatius Capito consularis. in exilium autem acti sunt Aemilius Iuncus et Atilius Severus consules. et in multos alios varie saevitum est.

V. Post haec Commodus numquam facile in publicum processit neque quicquam sibi nuntiari passus est nisi ² quod Perennis ante tractasset. Perennis autem Commodi persciens invenit quem ad modum ipse potens ³ esset. nam persuasit Commodo, ut ipse deliciis vacaret, idem vero Perennis curis incumberet, quod ⁴ Commodus laetanter accepit. hac igitur lege vivens ipse cum trecentis concubinis, quas ex matronarum meretricumque dilectu ad formae speciem concivit, ² trecentisque aliis puberibus exoletis, quos aequae ex plebe ac nobilitate vi pretiisque ³ forma disceptatrice collegerat, in Palatio per convivium et balneas bac-

¹ *Condiani* Casaubon; *condiciani* P. ² *conciuit* Egnatius; *concilii* P. ³ *ui pretiisque* Madvig, Peter²; *nuptisque* P; *uultusque* Turnebus, Peter¹.

¹ The brothers Sex. Quintilius Condianus and Sex. Quintilius Valerius Maximus. According to Dio, lxxii. 5, 3-4, their reputation and wealth caused them to be suspected.

² More correctly, the son of Quintilius Valerius Maximus and consul in 180. He was included in the sentence pronounced against his father and uncle. On his escape see Dio, lxxii. 6.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS IV. 9—V. 4

standing that Julianus would be raised to the throne. On this pretext he executed Paternus and Julianus, and also Vitruvius Secundus, a very dear friend of Paternus, who had charge of the imperial correspondence. Besides this, he exterminated the whole house of the Quintilii,¹ because Sextus, the son of Condianus,² by pretending death, it was said, had made his escape in order to raise a revolt. Vitrassia Faustina, Velius Rufus,³ and Egnatius Capito, a man of consular rank, were all slain. Aemilius Iuncus and Atilius Severus, the consuls,⁴ were driven into exile. And against many others he vented his rage in various ways.

V. After this Commodus never appeared in public readily, and would never receive messages unless they had previously passed through the hands of Perennis⁵. For Perennis, being well acquainted with Commodus' character, discovered the way to make himself powerful, namely, by persuading Commodus to devote himself to pleasure while he, Perennis, assumed all the burdens of the government—an arrangement which Commodus joyfully accepted. Under this agreement, then, Commodus lived, rioting in the Palace amid banquets and in baths along with 300 concubines, gathered together for their beauty and chosen from both matrons and harlots, and with minions, also 300 in number, whom he had collected by force and by purchase indiscriminately from the common people and the nobles

¹ Consul in 178.

² The year of their consulship is unknown. They were not necessarily consuls in 182.

³ According to Herodian, i. 11, 5, he spent most of the time in his suburban estate.

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5 chabatur. inter haec habitu victimarii victimas im-
molavit. in harena rudibus, inter cubicularios gladiatores pugnavit lucentibus aliquando mucronibus.
6 tunc tamen Perennis cuncta sibimet vindicavit. quos voluit interemit, spoliavit plurimos, omnia iura sub-
7 vertit, praedam omnem in sinum contulit. ipse autem Commodus Lucillam sororem, cum Capreas misisset,
8 occidit. sororibus dein suis ceteris, ut dicitur, constupratis, consobrina patris complexibus suis iniuncta uni etiam ex concubinis matris¹ nomen imposuit.
9 uxorem,² quam deprehensam in adulterio exegit,
10 exactam relegavit et postea occidit. ipsas concubinas suas sub oculis suis stuprari iubebat. nec inruentium in se iuvenum carebat infamia, omni parte corporis atque ore in sexum utrumque pollutus.
12 Occisus est eo tempore etiam Claudius quasi a latronibus, cuius filius cum pugione quondam ad Commodum ingressus est, multique alii senatores sine
13 iudicio interempti, feminae quoque divites. et nonnulli per provincias a Perenni ob divitias insimulati
14 spoliati sunt vel etiam interempti. iis autem quibus deerat ficti criminis adpositio obieciatur, quod scribere noluissent³ Commodum heredem.

¹ *matris* P; *patris* Salmasius, Peter. ² *inposuit. uxorem* Heer; *inposuit uxoris* P, Peter. ³ *noluissent* Casaubon, Baehrens; *uoluissent* P, Peter.

¹ Dio, on the other hand, declares that his administration was characterized by integrity and restraint; see lxxii. 10, 1. Herodian (i. 8) has the same point of view as the biography.

² See note to c. vii. 7.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS V. 5-14

solely on the basis of bodily beauty. Meanwhile, dressed in the garb of an attendant at the sacrifice, he slaughtered the sacrificial victims. He fought in the arena with foils, but sometimes, with his chamberlains acting as gladiators, with sharpened swords. By this time Perennis had secured all the power for himself. He slew whomsoever he wished to slay, plundered a great number, violated every law, and put all the booty into his own pocket.¹ Commodus, for his part, killed his sister Lucilla, after banishing her to Capri. After debauching his other sisters, as it is said, he formed an amour with a cousin of his father,² and even gave the name of his mother to one of his concubines. His wife,³ whom he caught in adultery, he drove from his house, then banished her, and later put her to death. By his orders his concubines were debauched before his own eyes, and he was not free from the disgrace of intimacy with young men, defiling every part of his body in dealings with persons of either sex.

At this time Claudius also, whose son had previously come into Commodus' presence with a dagger, was slain,⁴ ostensibly by bandits, and many other senators were put to death, and also certain women of wealth. And not a few provincials, for the sake of their riches, were charged with crimes by Perennis and then plundered or even slain; and some, against whom there was not even the imputation of a fictitious crime, were accused of having been unwilling to name Commodus as their heir.

² Crispina; see note to *Marc.*, xxvii. 8.

⁴ See c. iv. 2 and note. The biographer has apparently confused the father with the son, for Claudius Pompeianus was alive in 193; see *Pert.*, iv. 10; *Did. Jul.*, viii. 3.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

VI. Eo tempore in Sarmatia res bene gestas per
2 alios duces in filium suum Perennis referebat. hic
tamen Perennis, qui tantum potuit, subito, quod
bello Britannico militibus equestris loci viros prae-
fecerat amotis senatoribus, prodita re per legatos
exercitus hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus
3 est deditus. in cuius potentiae locum Cleandrum ex
cubiculariis subrogavit.

4 Multa sane post interfectum Perennem eiusque
filium quasi a se non gesta rescidit, velut in integrum
5 restituens. et hanc quidem paenitentiam scelerum
ultra triginta dies tenere non potuit, graviora per
Cleandrum faciens quam fecerat per supradictum
6 Perennem. et in potentia quidem Cleander Perenni
successerat, in praefectura vero Niger, qui sex tantum
7 horis praefectus praetorio fuisse perhibetur. muta-
bantur enim praefecti praetorio per horas ac dies,

¹ According to Herodian, i. 9, this son of Perennis, in command of the Illyrian troops, formed a conspiracy in the army to overthrow Commodus, and the detection of the plot led to Perennis' fall and death.

² In 184. According to Dio, lxxii. 8, the Britons living north of the boundary-wall invaded the province and annihilated a detachment of Roman soldiers. They were finally defeated by Ulpus Marcellus, and Commodus was acclaimed Imperator for the seventh time and assumed the title *Britannicus*; see c. viii. 4 and coins with the legend *Vict(oria) Brit(annica)*, Cohen, iii², p. 349, no. 945.

³ An innovation which became general in the third century, when senatorial commanders throughout the empire were gradually replaced by equestrian.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxii. 9, it was at the demand of a delegation of 1500 soldiers of the army of Britain, whom Perennis had censured for mutinous conduct (cf. c. viii. 4).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VI. 2-7.

VI. About this time the victories in Sarmatia won by other generals were attributed by Perennis to his own son.¹ Yet in spite of his great power, suddenly, because in the war in Britain² he had dismissed certain senators and had put men of the equestrian order in command of the soldiers,³ this same Perennis was declared an enemy to the state, when the matter was reported by the legates in command of the army, and was thereupon delivered up to the soldiers to be torn to pieces.⁴ In his place of power Commodus put Cleander,⁵ one of his 185. chamberlains.

After Perennis and his son were executed, Commodus rescinded a number of measures on the ground that they had been carried out without his authority, pretending that he was merely re-establishing previous conditions. However, he could not maintain this penitence for his misdeeds longer than thirty days, and he actually committed more atrocious crimes through Cleander than he had done through the aforesaid Perennis. Although Perennis was succeeded in general influence by Cleander, his successor in the prefecture was Niger, who held this position as prefect of the guard, it is said, for just six hours. In fact, prefects of the guard were changed hourly and

The mutiny was finally quelled by Pertinax; see *Pert.*, iii. 5-8.

¹ A Phrygian by birth, brought to Rome as a slave; see Herodian, i. 12, 3. After securing his freedom he rose in the Palace and finally became chamberlain, after bringing about the fall and death of his predecessor, Saoterus; see c. iv. 5 and Dio, lxxii. 12, 2. He also contributed to the fall of Perennis; see Dio, lxxii. 9, 3. He was not made prefect until 186, but exercised great influence in his capacity as chamberlain (see §§ 6 and 12).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

Commodo peiora omnia, quam fecerat ante, faciente,
 8 fuit Marcius Quartus praefectus praetorio diebus
 quinque. horum successores ad arbitrium Cleandri
 9 aut retenti sunt aut occisi. ad cuius nutum etiam
 libertini in senatum¹ atque in patricos lecti sunt,
 tuncque primum viginti quinque consules in unum
 10 annum, venditaeque omnes provinciae. omnia
 Cleander pecunia venditabat; revocatos de exsilio
 11 dignitatibus ornabat, res iudicatas rescindebat. qui
 tantum per stultitiam Commodi potuit, ut Burrum,
 sororis Commodi virum, reprehendentem nuntiantem-
 que Commodi quae fiebant in suspicionem regni ad-
 fectati traheret et occideret, multis aliis, qui Burrum
 12 defendebant, pariter interemptis. praefectus etiam
 Aebutianus inter hos est interemptus; in cuius locum
 ipse Cleander cum aliis duobus, quos ipse delegerat,
 13 praefectus est factus. tuncque primum tres praefecti
 praetorio fuere, inter quos libertinus,² qui a pugione
 appellatus est.

VII. Sed et Cleandro dignus tandem vitae finis
 impositus. nam cum insidiis illius Arrius Antoninus
 fictis³ criminibus in Attali gratiam, quem in pro-

¹ *senatu* P. ² *libertinus* Jordan; *libertinos* P. ³ *factis* P.

¹ So also Dio, lxxii. 12, 3-5.

² L. Antistius Burrus; he seems to have been previously accused on the same charge by Pertinax; see *Pert.*, iii. 7.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VI. 8—VII.

daily, Commodus meanwhile committing all kinds of evil deeds, worse even than he had committed before. Marcius Quartus was prefect of the guard for five days. Thereafter, the successors of these men were either retained in office or executed, according to the whim of Cleander. At his nod even freedmen were enrolled in the senate and among the patricians, and now for the first time there were twenty-five consuls in a single year. Appointments to the provinces ¹⁸⁹ were uniformly sold; in fact, Cleander sold everything for money.¹ He loaded with honours men who were recalled from exile; he rescinded decisions of the courts. Indeed, because of Commodus' utter degeneracy, his power was so great that he brought Burrus,² the husband of Commodus' sister, who was denouncing and reporting to Commodus all that was being done, under the suspicion of pretending to the throne, and had him put to death; and at the same time he slew many others who defended Burrus. Among these Aebutianus was slain, the prefect of the guard; in his place Cleander himself was made prefect, together with two others whom he himself chose. Then for the first time were there three prefects of the guard, among whom was a freedman, called the "Bearer of the Dagger".³

VII. However, a full worthy death was at last meted out to Cleander also. For when, through his intrigues, Arrius Antoninus⁴ was put to death on false charges in revenge for Attalus, whom Arrius had condemned

³ *i.e.* Cleander himself. The dagger was the symbol of the office of prefect.

⁴ Together with Burrus he had been accused by Pertinax of aspiring to the throne (see *Pert.*, iii. 7), but he seems to have been a highly respected man and official.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

consulatu Asiae damnaverat, esset occisus, nec eam
tum invidiam populo saeviente Commodus ferre
2 potuisset, plebi ad poenam donatus est, cum etiam
Apolaustus aliique liberti aulici pariter interempti
sunt. Cleander inter cetera etiam concubinas eius
3 constupravit, de quibus filios suscepit, qui post eius
interitum cum matribus interempti sunt.

4 In cuius locum Iulianus et Regillus subrogati sunt,
5 quos et ipsos postea poenis adfecit. his occisis in-
teremit Servilium et Dulium Silanos cum suis, mox
Antium Lupum et Petronios Mamertinum et Suram
filiumque Mamertini Antoninum ex sorore sua geni-
6 tum. et post eos sex simul ex consulibus Allium
Fuscum, Caelium Felicem, Luceium Torquatum,
Larcium Eurupianum, Valerium Bassianum, Pac-
7 tumeium ¹ Magnum cum suis, atque in Asia Sulpicium
Crassum pro consule et Iulium Proculum cum suis
Claudiumque Lucanum consularem et consobrinam
patris sui Faustinae Anniam in Achaia et alios in-
8 finitos. destinaverat et alios quattuordecim occidere,
cum sumptus eius vires ² Romani imperii sustinere
non possent.

¹ *Pactumeium* Casaubon; *Pactulcium* P.
sinus; *uiris* P¹; *iuris* P corr.

² *viros* Ur-

¹ In 189, on the occasion of a riot due to a lack of grain, for which the mob held Cleander responsible; see Dio, lxxii. 13.

² See *Ver.*, viii. 10.

³ He married one of them, Damostratia, according to Dio, lxxii. 12, 1.

⁴ For Julianus' death see Dio, lxxii. 14, 1. He is probably to be identified with L. Julius Vehilius Gratus Julianus, whose interesting career is recorded in an inscription from Rome; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1327.

⁵ Perhaps M. Servilius Silanus, consul in 188.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VII. 2-8

during his proconsulship in Asia, Commodus could not endure the hatred of the enraged people and gave Cleander over to the populace for punishment.¹ At the same time Apolaustus² and several other freedmen of the court were put to death. Among other outrages Cleander had debauched certain of Commodus' concubines,³ and from them had begotten sons, who, together with their mothers, were put to death after his downfall.

As successors to Cleander Commodus appointed Julianus and Regillus, both of whom he afterwards condemned.⁴ After these men had been put to death he slew the two Silani, Servilius⁵ and Dulus, together with their kin, then Antius Lupus⁶ and the two Petronii, Mamertinus and Sura,⁷ and also Mamertinus' son Antoninus, whose mother was his own sister;⁸ after these, six former consuls at one time, Allius Fuscus, Caelius Felix, Luceius Torquatus, Larcius Eurupianus, Valerius Bassianus and Pactumeius Magnus,⁹ all with their kin; in Asia Sulpicius Crassus, the proconsul, Julius Proculus, together with their kin, and Claudius Lucanus, a man of consular rank; and in Achaia his father's cousin, Annia Faustina,¹⁰ and innumerable others. He had intended to kill fourteen others also, since the revenues of the Roman empire were insufficient to meet his expenditures.

⁶ His grave-inscription is preserved; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 1343.

⁷ The brothers M. Petronius Sura Mamertinus and M. Petronius Sura Septimianus were consuls in 182 and 190 respectively.

⁸ Perhaps Cornificia.

⁹ Consul in 183.

¹⁰ Annia Fundania Faustina, daughter of M. Annius Libo, Marcus' uncle (see *Marc.*, i. 3). She is probably the woman referred to in c. v. 8.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

VIII. Inter haec Commodus senatu semet ir
 ridente,¹ cum adulterum matris consulem designasse
 appellatus est Pius; cum occidisset Perennem, ap
 pellatus est Felix, inter plurimas caedes multorum
 2 civium quasi quidam novus Sulla. idem Commodus
 ille Pius, ille Felix, finxisse etiam quandam contra
 3 coniurationem dicitur, ut multos occideret. nec al
 ulla fuit defectio praeter Alexandri, qui postea se
 4 suos interemit, et² sororis Lucillae. appellatus est
 Commodus etiam Britannicus ab adulatoribus, cum
 Britanni etiam imperatorem contra eum delige
 5 voluerint. appellatus est etiam Romanus Hercule
 quod feras Lanuvii³ in amphitheatro occidisset. er
 enim haec illi consuetudo, ut domi bestias interficere
 6 fuit praeterea ea dementia, ut urbem Romanam
 coloniam Commodianam vocari voluerit. qui⁴ fur

¹ *senatu semet inridente* Peter²; *senatu semettridente* P
senatu ridente Peter¹. ² *et om.* in P. ³ *lanuvium* I
⁴ *cui P.*

¹ Probably L. Tullius Pontianus Gentianus, said to have
 been one of Faustina's lovers (see *Marc.* xxix. 1), and *consul*
suffectus in 183, the year in which the name *Pius* was b
 stowed on Commodus.

² The name is borne by Commodus in the Acts of the
 Arval Brothers for 7 Jan., 183; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 2099, 12. It
 also appears on the coins of 183, *e.g.* Cohen, iii², p. 22
 no. 18; the real reason for its assumption is not known.

³ This name appears on his coins of 185; *e.g.* Cohen, iii
 p. 239, no. 49. It had been assumed as a cognomen by the
 Dictator Sulla.

⁴ Julius Alexander, from Emesa in Syria. According to
 Dio, lxxii. 14, 1-3, his execution was ordered because he ha
 speared a lion while on horseback; he killed those sent to
 execute him and then made his escape, but was overtaken.

⁵ See c. iv. 1-4.

⁶ An allusion to the mutiny in Britain; see note to c. vi. 1

COMMODUS ANTONINUS VIII. 2-6

VIII. Meanwhile, because he had appointed to the consulship a former lover of his mother's,¹ the senate shockingly gave Commodus the name Pius;² and after he had executed Perennis, he was given the name Felix,³ as though, amid the multitudinous executions of many citizens, he were a second Sulla. And this same Commodus, who was called Pius, and who was called Felix, is said to have feigned a plot against his own life, in order that he might have an excuse for putting many to death. Yet as a matter of fact, there were no rebellions save that of Alexander,⁴ who soon killed himself and his near of kin, and that of Commodus' sister Lucilla.⁵ He was called Britannicus by those who desired to flatter him, whereas the Britons even wished to set up an emperor against him.⁶ He was called also the Roman Hercules,⁷ on the ground that he had killed wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Lanuvium; and, indeed, it was his custom to kill wild beasts on his own estate. He had, besides, an insane desire that the city of Rome should be renamed Colonia Commodiana.⁸ This mad idea, it is said, was inspired in

¹ See also § 9. *Romanus Hercules* appears among his titles as given by Dio, lxxii. 15, 5, and also in an inscription of Dec., 192; see *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3449 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 400. He had the lion's skin and club, the attributes of Hercules, carried before him in the streets (Dio, lxxii. 17, 4), and had himself portrayed as Hercules on coins (Cohen, iii², p. 251 f., nos. 180-210), and in statues (c. ix. 2; Dio, lxxii. 15, 6), e.g. the famous bust in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

⁸ So also Dio, lxxii. 15, 2. *Col(onia) L(ucia) An(toniniana) Com(modiana)* appears on coins of 190; see Cohen, iii², p. 33, nos. 39-40. He also gave the name Commodianus to the senate (§ 9 and Dio, *ibid.*), the people (c. xv. 5), the palace (c. xii. 7), the legions (Dio, *ibid.*), the city of Carthage, and the African fleet (c. xvii. 8).

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

7 dicitur ei inter delenia menta Marciae iniectus. voluit
8 etiam in Circo quadrigas agitare. dalmaticatus in
publico processit atque ita signum quadrigis emit-
9 tendis dedit. et eo quidem tempore quo ad senatum
rettulit de Commodiana faciendâ Roma, non solum
senatus hoc libenter accepit per inrisionem, quan-
tum intellegitur, sed etiam se ipsum Commodianum
vocavit, Commodum Herculem et deum appellans.

IX. Simulavit se et in Africam iturum, ut sump-
tum itinerarium exigeret, et exegit eumque in con-
2 vicia et aleam convertit. Motilenum, praefectum
praetorii, per ficus veneno interemit. accepit statuas
in Herculis habitu, eique immolatum est ut deo.
3 multos praeterea paraverat interimere, quod per
parvulum quendam proditum est, qui tabulam e
cubiculo eiecit, in qua occidendorum erant nomina
scripta.

4 Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim
5 portaret. Bellonae servientes vere exsecrare brac-
6 chium praecepit studio crudelitatis. Isiacos vere

¹ His mistress, who afterwards conspired against him; see c. xvii. 1.

² Called *chiridotae Dalmatarum* in *Pert.*, viii. 2. It was a long-sleeved tunic reaching to the knee. Dio describes it (lxxii. 17, 2) as made of white silk with gold threads.

³ See note to c. viii. 5.

⁴ An Egyptian deity regarded as the protector of corpses and tombs and represented with the head of a jackal, or, by the Greeks and Romans, with that of a dog. His cult was often combined with that of Isis, and according to Juvenal

while listening to the blandishments of Marcia.¹ He had also a desire to drive chariots in the Circus, so he went out in public clad in the Dalmatian tunic² and thus clothed gave the signal for the gladiators to start. And in truth, on the occasion when he laid before the senate his proposal to call the Commodiana, not only did the senate gleefully accept this resolution, out of mockery, as far as we know, but also took the name "Commodian" to itself, at the same time giving Commodus the name Hercules, and calling him a god.

X. He pretended once that he was going to Africa, so that he could get funds for the journey, then got on and spent them on banquets and gaming instead. He murdered Motilenus, the prefect of the guard, by means of poisoned figs. He allowed statues of himself to be erected with the accoutrements of Hercules;³ and sacrifices were performed to him as to a god. He had planned to execute many more men besides, but his plan was betrayed by a certain young attendant, who threw out of his bedroom a tablet on which were written the names of those who were to be killed.

He practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis.⁴ In his passion for cruelty he actually ordered the vestal virgins of Bellona to cut off one of their arms,⁵ and for the devotees of Isis, he forced them to beat

534), the chief priest of Isis was often dressed as a woman.

The cult of Bellona, brought to Rome from Asia Minor in the time of Sulla, was characterised by orgiastic music and dances, in which the votaries, like Mohammedan dervishes, cut their arms and bodies; for a description see Tibullus, 45 f.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

pineis usque ad perniciem pectus tundere cogebat. cum Anubim portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter obtundebat ore simulacri. clava non solum leones in veste muliebri et pelle leonina sed etiam homines multos adfixit. debiles pedibus et eos, qui ambulare non possent, in gigantum modum formavit, ita ut a genibus¹ de pannis et linteis quasi dracones tegerentur,² eosdemque sagittis confecit. sacra Mithriaca homicidio vero polluit, cum illic³ aliquid ad speciem timoris vel dici vel fingi soleat.

X. Etiam puer et gulosus et impudicus fuit. adolescens omne genus hominum infamavit quod erat 2secum, et ab omnibus est infamatus. inridentes se feris obiciebat. eum etiam, qui Tranquilli librum vitam Caligulae continentem legerat, feris obici iussit, quia eundem diem natalis habuerat, quem et Caligula 3 si quis sane⁴ se mori velle praedixisset, hunc invitum praecipitari iubebat.

In iocis quoque perniciosus. nam eum,⁵ quem 4 vidisset albescentes inter nigros capillos quasi ver-

¹ *gentibus* P. ² *tegerentur* Petschenig, Peter²; *degererentur* P, Peter¹. ³ *illihic* P. ⁴ *sane* P, Peter; ante Mommsen. ⁵ *eum* Jordan; *eam* P.

¹ *i.e.* dressed as Hercules; see note to c. viii. 5.

² According to Dio, lxxii. 20, he actually attached figures of serpents to their legs. The performance was an imitation of the mythical combats between the gods and the giants, in which the latter are usually represented, *e.g.* on the great altar from Pergamum, as having serpents for legs.

their breasts with pine-cones even to the point of leath. While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis, he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue. He struck with his club, while clad in a woman's garment or a lion's skin,¹ not lions only, but many men as well. Certain men who were lame in their feet and others who could not walk, he dressed up as giants, encasing their legs from the knee down in wrappings and bandages to make them look like serpents,² and then despatched them with his arrows. He desecrated the rites of Mithra³ with actual murder, although it was customary in them merely to say or pretend something that would produce an impression of terror.

X. Even as a child he was gluttonous and lewd.⁴ While a youth, he disgraced every class of men in his company and was disgraced in turn by them. Whoever ridiculed him he cast to the wild beasts. And one man, who had merely read the book by Tranquillus⁵ containing the life of Caligula, he ordered cast to the wild beasts, because Caligula and he had the same birthday.⁶ And if any one, indeed, expressed a desire to die, he had him hurried to death, however really reluctant.

In his humorous moments, too, he was destructive. For example, he put a starling on the head of one

¹ A Persian deity, whose cult was brought to Rome in the time of Pompey, and became very popular about the end of the first century after Christ. In the course of the next two centuries the god, under the name *Sol Invictus Mithras*, was worshipped throughout the Empire, and his cult was probably the most formidable rival of Christianity.

² But see note to c. i. 7.

³ i.e. Suetonius; see note to *Hadr.*, xi. 3.

⁶ See c. i. 2, and Suetonius, *Caligula*, viii. 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- miculos habere, sturno adposito, qui se vermes sectari
 crederet, capite suppuratum reddebat obtusione oris.¹
 5 pinguem hominem medio ventre dissicuit, ut eius
 6 intestina subito funderentur. monopodios et luscinos
 eos, quibus aut singulos tulisset oculos² aut singulos
 7 pedes fregisset, appellabat. multos praeterea passim
 exstinxit alios, quia barbarico habitu occurrerant,
 8 alios, quia nobiles et speciosi erant. habuit in deliciis
 homines appellatos nominibus verendorum utriusque
 9 sexus, quos libentius suis osculis³ applicabat. habuit
 et hominem pene prominente ultra modum animalium,
 quem Onon appellabat, sibi carissimum. quem et
 ditavit et sacerdotio Herculis rustici praeposuit.
 XI. dicitur saepe pretiosissimis cibus humana stercora
 miscuisse nec abstinuisse gustum aliis, ut putabat,
 2 inrasis. duos gibbos retortos in lance argentea sibi
 sinapi perfusos exhibuit eosdemque statim promovit
 3 ac ditavit. praefectum praetorii suum Iulianum
 togatum praesente officio suo in piscinam detrusit.
 quem saltare etiam nudum ante concubinas suas iussit
 4 quatientem cymbala deformato vultu. genera⁴ legu-
 minum coctorum ad convivium propter luxuriae con-
 5 tinuationem raro vocavit. lavabat per diem septies

¹ obtusione oris Petschenig, Peter²; obtunsioneris P; obtunsionibus Peter¹. ² oculos om. in P¹, add. in P corr.

³ osculis Ursinus; oculis P. ⁴ genera . . . uocavit P, Peter²; genere . . . uacavit Salmasius, Peter.¹

¹ i.e. ass.

² Apparently a private cult, carried on in one of the emperor's suburban estates.

³ See c. vii, 4.

man who, as he noticed, had a few white hairs, resembling worms, among the black, and caused his head to fester through the continual pecking of the bird's beak—the bird, of course, imagining that it was pursuing worms. One corpulent person he cut open down the middle of his belly, so that his intestines gushed forth. Other men he dubbed one-eyed or one-footed, after he himself had plucked out one of their eyes or cut off one of their feet. In addition to all this, he murdered many others in many places, some because they came into his presence in the costume of barbarians, others because they were noble and handsome. He kept among his minions certain men named after the private parts of both sexes, and on these he liked to bestow kisses. He also had in his company a man with a male member larger than that of most animals, whom he called Onos.¹ This man he treated with great affection, and he even made him rich and appointed him to the priesthood of the Rural Hercules.² XI. It is claimed that he often mixed human excrement with the most expensive foods, and he did not refrain from tasting them, mocking the rest of the company, as he thought. He displayed two misshapen hunchbacks on a silver platter after smearing them with mustard, and then straightway advanced and enriched them. He rushed into a swimming-pool his praetorian prefect Julianus,³ although he was clad in his toga and accompanied by his staff; and he even ordered this same Julianus to dance naked before his concubines, clashing cymbals and making grimaces. The various kinds of cooked vegetables he rarely admitted to his banquets, his purpose being to preserve unbroken the recession of dainties. He used to bathe seven and

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- 6 atque octies et in ipsis balneis edebat. adibat¹
 deorum templa pollutus² stupris et humano sanguine.
 7 imitatus est et medicum, ut sanguinem hominibus
 emitteret scalpris feralibus.
- 8 Menses quoque in honorem eius pro Augusto Com-
 modum, pro Septembri Herculem, pro Octobri In-
 victum, pro Novembri Exsuperatorium, pro Decembri
 Amazonium ex signo ipsius adulatores vocabant.
- 9 Amazonius autem vocatus est ex amore concubinae
 suae Marciae, quam pictam in Amazone diligebat,
 propter quam et ipse Amazonico habitu in arenam
 Romanam procedere voluit.
- 10 Gladiatorium³ etiam certamen subiit et nomina
 gladiatorum recepit eo gaudio quasi acciperet trium-
 11 phalia. ludum semper⁴ ingressus est et, quotiens in-
 12 grederetur, publicis monumentis indi iussit. pugnasse
 autem dicitur septingenties tricies quinquies.
- 13 Nominatus inter Caesares quartum iduum Octobrium,
 quas Herculeas postea nominavit, Pudente et Polli-
 14 one consulibus. appellatus Germanicus idibus Hereu-

¹ *adibat* ins. by Klein. ² *pollutus* P; *polluit* Peter.
³ *gladiatorum* P. ⁴ *semper* P, Lenze; *saepe* Casaubon, Peter.

¹ Similar mutilations are recorded by Dio, lxxii. 17, 2.

² The complete list of the new names as given to the months is contained in Dio, lxxii. 15, 3. They are all Commodus' own names and titles. In Dio's enumeration the new names are applied differently from the list as given here, but the dates given in c. xi.-xii. accord with Dio, and comparison with known events shows that his is the correct order.

³ See note to c. viii. 6.

⁴ For a description of a spectacle lasting fourteen days, in which Commodus fought with wild beasts and gladiators, see Dio, lxxii. 18-21.

⁵ See c. xv. 8.

⁶ Cf. c. xv. 4.

⁷ But see c. xii. 11.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XI. 6-14

eight times a day, and was in the habit of eating while in the baths. He would enter the temples of the gods defiled with adulteries and human blood. He even aped a surgeon, going so far as to bleed men to death with scalpels.¹

Certain months were renamed in his honour by his flatterers; for August they substituted Commodus, for September Hercules, for October Invictus, for November Exsuperatorius, and for December Amazonius, after his own surname.² He had been called Amazonius, moreover, because of his passion for his concubine Marcia,³ whom he loved to have portrayed as an Amazon, and for whose sake he even wished to enter the arena of Rome dressed as an Amazon.

He engaged in gladiatorial combats,⁴ and accepted the names usually given to gladiators⁵ with as much pleasure as if he had been granted triumphal decorations. He regularly took part in the spectacles, and as often as he did so, ordered the fact to be inscribed in the public records.⁶ It is said that he engaged in gladiatorial bouts seven hundred and thirty-five times.⁷

He received the name of Caesar on the fourth day before the Ides of the month usually called October,^{12 Oct.,} which he later named Hercules,⁸ in the consulship of 166
 Pudens and Pollio.⁹ He was called Germanicus¹⁰ on the Ides of "Hercules" in the consulship of Maxi-15 Oct.,
 172

⁸ On these names of the months see note to c. xi. 8.

⁹ For these dates see c. ii. 1-5, and notes.

¹⁰ The surname was doubtless assumed by Commodus at the same time that it was taken by Marcus (see note to *Marc.*, xii. 9). It appears on a coin of Marcus and Commodus of 172; see Cohen, iii², p. 133, no. 2.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

XII. leis Maximo et Orfito consulibus. adsumptus est in omnia collegia sacerdotalia sacerdos XIII kal. Invieta
² Pisone Iuliano consulibus. profectus in Germaniam
³ XIII kal. Aelias, ut postea nominavit. iisdem consulibus togam virilem accepit. cum patre appellatus imperator V kal. Exsuperatorias Pollione et Apro
⁴ iterum¹ consulibus. triumphavit X kal. Ian. iisdem
⁵ consulibus. iterum profectus III nonas Commodias
⁶ Orfito et Rufo consulibus. datus in perpetuum ab exercitu et senatu in domo Palatina Commodiana conservandus XI kal. Romanas Praesente iterum consule.
⁷ tertio meditans de profectione a senatu et populo suo
⁸ retentus est. vota pro eo facta sunt nonis Pii
⁹ Fusciano iterum consule. inter haec refertur in litteras pugnasse illum sub patre trecenties sexagies
¹⁰ quinquies.² item postea tantum palmarum gladiatoriarum confecisse vel victis retiariis vel occisis, ut
¹¹ mille contingeret. ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut elephantos occideret, multa milia.
¹² et haec fecit spectante saepe populo Romano.

XIII. Fuit autem validus ad haec, alias debilis et infirmus, vitio etiam inter inguina prominenti, ita ut

¹ so Peter; *iterum et Apro P.*

² *quinties P.*

¹ The official language describing his enthronement.

² See note to c. viii. 6.

³ Perhaps because of the plague (see *Marc.*, xiii. 3) which seems to have broken out again about this time; see *Dio*, lxxii. 14, 3; *Herodian*, i. 12, 1-2.

⁴ A gladiator provided with a heavy net in which he tried to entangle his opponent; if successful he then killed him with a dagger.

⁵ But see c. xi. 12.

⁶ See note to c. xi. 10.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XII. 2—XIII.

us and Orfitus. XII. He was received into all the sacred colleges as a priest on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of "Invictus," in the consulship of Piso and Julianus. He set out for Germany on the fourteenth day before the Kalends of the month which he later named Aelius, and assumed the toga in the same year. Together with his father he was proclaimed Emperor on the fifth day before the Kalends of "Exsuperatorius," in the year when Pollio and Aper served their second consulships, and he celebrated a triumph on the tenth day before the Kalends of January in this same year. He set out on his second expedition on the third day before the Nones of "Commodus" in the consulship of Orfitus and Rufus. He was officially presented by the army and the senate to be maintained in perpetuity in the Palatine mansion,¹ henceforth called Commodiana,² on the eleventh day before the Kalends of "Romanus," in the year that Praesens was consul for the second time. When he laid plans for a third expedition, he was persuaded by the senate and people to give it up. Vows³ were assumed in his behalf on the Nones of "Pius," when Fuscianus was consul for the second time. Besides these facts, it is related in records that he fought 365 gladiatorial combats in his father's reign. Afterwards, by vanquishing or slaying retiarii,⁴ he won enough gladiatorial crowns to bring the number up to a thousand.⁵ He also killed with his own hand thousands of wild beasts of all kinds, even elephants. And he frequently did these things before the eyes of the Roman people.⁶

XIII. But, though vigorous enough for such exploits, he was otherwise weak and diseased; indeed,

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

eius tumorem per sericas vestes populus Romanus
 2 agnosceret. versus in eo multi scripti sunt, de quibus
 3 etiam in opere suo Marius Maximus gloriatur. virum
 ad conficiendas feras tantarum fuit, ut elephantum
 conto transfigeret¹ et orygis cornu basto transmiserit
 et singulis ictibus multa milia ferarum ingentium con-
 4 ficeret. impudentiae tantae fuit, ut cum muliebri
 veste in amphitheatro vel theatro sedens publice
 saepissime biberit.
 5 Victi sunt sub eo tamen, cum ille sic viveret, per
 legatos Mauri, victi Daci, Pannoniae quoque com-
 positae, in² Britannia, in Germania et in Dacia im-
 6 perium eius recusantibus provincialibus. quae omnia
 7 ista per duces sedata sunt. ipse Commodus in sub-
 scribendo tardus et neglegens, ita ut libellis una
 forma multis subscriberet, in epistulis autem plurimis
 8 'Vale' tantum scriberet. agebanturque omnia per
 alios, qui etiam condemnationes in sinum vertisse
 XIV. dicuntur. per hanc autem neglegentiam, cum et
 annonam vastarent ii qui tunc rem publicam gerebant,

¹ *transigeret* P.

² *in* om. in P.

¹ An inscription from Mauretania, set up between 184 and the death of Commodus, records the construction and repair of redoubts along the border, and is probably to be connected with this outbreak; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 396. This may also be the revolt alluded to in *Pert.*, iv. 2.

² Probably in 182, when Commodus was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fifth time (see Cohen, iii², p. 337, nos. 840-847). A large number of Dacians who had been driven from their homes were granted land in Roman territory; see Dio, lxxii, 8, 3.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIII. 2—XIV.

he had such a conspicuous growth on his groin that the people of Rome could see the swelling through his silken robes. Many verses were written alluding to this deformity; and Marius Maximus prides himself on preserving these in his biography of Commodus. Such was his prowess in the slaying of wild beasts, that he once transfixed an elephant with a pole, pierced a gazelle's horn with a spear, and on a thousand occasions dispatched a mighty beast with a single blow. Such was his complete indifference to propriety, that time and again he sat in the theatre or amphitheatre dressed in a woman's garments and drank quite publicly.

The Moors¹ and the Dacians² were conquered during his reign, and peace was established in the Pannonias,³ but all by his legates, since such was the manner of his life. The provincials in Britain,⁴ Dacia, and Germany⁵ attempted to cast off his yoke, but all these attempts were put down by his generals. Commodus himself was so lazy and careless in signing documents that he answered many petitions with the same formula, while in very many letters he merely wrote the word "Farewell". All official business was carried on by others, who, it is said, even used condemnations to swell their purses. XIV. And because he was so careless, moreover, a great famine arose in

³ An inscription of 185 records the construction of redoubts along the Danube; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 3385 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 395.

⁴ See c. vi. 2 and note.

⁵ Probably in 187-188. It is referred to in an inscription as *expeditio felicissima tertia Germanica*; see *C.I.L.*, v. 2155 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1574. According to c. xii. 8, Commodus wished to lead the expedition but the "senate and people" would not allow it.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

etiam inopia ingens Romae exorta est, cum fruges
 2 non¹ deessent. et eos quidem qui omnia vastabant
 3 postea Commodus occidit atque proscripsit. ipse vero
 saeculum aureum Commodianum nomine adsimulans
 vilitatem proposuit, ex qua maiorem penuriam fecit.
 4 Multi sub eo et alienam poenam et salutem suam
 5 pecunia redemerunt. vendidit etiam suppliciorum
 diversitates et sepulturas et inminutiones malorum et
 6 alios pro aliis occidit. vendidit etiam provincias et
 administrationes, cum ⁱⁱ per quos venderet partem
 7 acciperent, partem vero Commodus. vendidit non-
 nullis et inimicorum suorum caedes. vendiderunt
 8 sub eo etiam eventus litium liberti. praefectos
 Paternum et Perennem non diu tulit, ita tamen ut
 etiam de iis praefectis quos ipse fecerat triennium
 nullus impleteret, quorum plurimos interfecit vel veneno
 vel gladio. et praefectos urbi eadem facilitate mutavit.
 XV. cubicularios suos libenter occidit, cum omnia ex nutu
 2 eorum semper fecisset. Eclectus² cubicularius cum
 videret eum tam facile cubicularios occidere, praevenit
 eum et factioni mortis eius interfuit.
 3 Spectator gladiatoria sumpsit arma, panno purpureo
 4 nudos umeros advelans. habuit praeterea morem, ut

¹ So P (Ballou in "Class. Philol.," iii. p. 273); *et non* in P
 acc. to Peter. ² *Eclectus* Mommsen, Peter; *electus* P.

¹ See note to c. vii. 1.

² It was enacted by special decree, according to Dio, lxxii.
 15, 6.

³ See c. iv. 7-8 and vi. 2.

⁴ Cf. c. vi. 6-8; vii. 4; ix. 2. Even Cleander was prefect
 only from 186 to 189.

⁵ He had been a freedman and favourite of Lucius Verus;
 see *Ver.*, ix. 6.

⁶ See c. xvii. 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIV. 2—XV. 4

Rome, not because there was any real shortage of crops, but merely because those who then ruled the state were plundering the food supply.¹ As for those who plundered on every hand, Commodus afterwards put them to death and confiscated their property; but for the time he pretended that a golden age had come,² "Commodian" by name, and ordered a general reduction of prices, the result of which was an even greater scarcity.

In his reign many a man secured punishment for another or immunity for himself by bribery. Indeed, in return for money Commodus would grant a change of punishment, the right of burial, the alleviation of wrongs, and the substitution of another for one condemned to be put to death. He sold provinces and administrative posts, part of the proceeds accruing to those through whom he made the sale and part to Commodus himself. To some he sold even the lives of their enemies. Under him the imperial freedmen sold even the results of law-suits. He did not long put up with Paternus and Perennis as prefects;³ indeed, not one of the prefects whom he himself had appointed remained in office as long as three years.⁴ Most of them he killed, some with poison, some with the sword. XV. Prefects of the city he changed with equal readiness. He executed his chamberlains with no compunctions whatever, even though all that he had done had been at their bidding. One of these chamberlains, however, Eclectus by name,⁵ forestalled him when he saw how ready Commodus was to put the chamberlains to death, and took part in a conspiracy to kill him.⁶

At gladiatorial shows he would come to watch and stay to fight, covering his bare shoulders with a purple

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

omnia quae turpiter, quae impure, quae crudeliter, quae gladiatorie, quae lenonie faceret, actis urbis indi
⁵ iuberet, ut Marii Maximi scripta testantur. Commodianum etiam populum Romanum dixit, quo saepis-
⁶ sime praesente gladiator pugnavit. sane cum illi saepe pugnanti ut deo populus favisset, inrisum se credens populum Romanum a militibus classariis, qui vela ducebant, in amphitheatro interimi prae-
⁷ ceperat. urbem incendi iusserat, utpote coloniam suam. quod factum esset, nisi Laetus praefectus
⁸ praetorii Commodum deterruisset. appellatus est sane inter cetera triumphalia nomina etiam sescenties vices Palus Primus Secutorum.

XVI. Prodigia eius imperio et publice et privatim
² haec facta sunt: crinita stella apparuit. vestigia deorum in foro visa sunt exeuntia. et ante bellum desertorum caelum arsit. et repentina caligo ac tenebra in Circo kalendis Ianuariis oborta; et ante

¹ The *Acta Urbis* or *Acta Diurna* was a publication begun by Julius Caesar and continued by his successors, which contained official announcements, and general news that the government desired to convey to the public.

² Cf. c. xi. 11.

³ See c. viii. 6 and note.

⁴ See c. xi. 10 and note.

⁵ In 192 a fire devastated the district east of the Forum and a portion of the Palatine; see Dio, lxxii. 24, and Herodian, i. 14, 2-6. This seems to be the fire here alluded to, but according to Dio, Commodus was in no way responsible for it. After rebuilding what the fire had destroyed, Commodus assumed the title *Conditor*; see Cohen, iii², p. 251 f., nos. 181-184.

⁶ See c. xvii. 1.

⁷ According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, this was engraved along with his other titles on the Colossus (see c. xvii. 10). The term

cloth. And it was his custom, moreover, to order the insertion in the city-gazette¹ of everything he did that was base or foul or cruel, or typical of a gladiator² or a procurer—at least, the writings of Marius Maximus so testify. He entitled the Roman people the “People of Commodus,”³ since he had very often fought as a gladiator in their presence.⁴ And although the people regularly applauded him in his frequent combats as though he were a god, he became convinced that he was being laughed at, and gave orders that the Roman people should be slain in the Amphitheatre by the marines who spread the awnings. He gave an order, also, for the burning of the city,⁵ as though it were his private colony, and this order would have been executed had not Laetus,⁶ the prefect of the guard, deterred him. Among other triumphal titles, he was also given the name “Captain of the *Secutores*”⁷ six hundred and twenty times.

XVI. The prodigies that occurred in his reign, both those which concerned the state and those which affected Commodus personally, were as follows. A comet appeared. Footprints of the gods were seen in the Forum departing from it. Before the war of the deserters⁸ the heavens were ablaze. On the Kalends¹ Jan.,

193

primus palus is formed on the analogy of *primus pilus*, the first centurion of a legion. The *palus* was the wooden pike used by gladiators in practice. A *secutor* wore a helmet and greaves and was armed with a long shield and a sword.

⁸ An outbreak in Gaul in 186, headed by a soldier named Maternus, who gathered a band of fellow-soldiers and desperadoes and plundered the country. The Roman troops under Pescennius Niger defeated and scattered them; whereupon, Maternus himself fled to Italy and attempted to assassinate Commodus, but was caught and beheaded; see Herodian, i. 10, and *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 4.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

- 3 lucem fuerant etiam incendiariae aves ac dirae. de
Palatio ipse ad Caelium montem in Vectilianas aedes
4 migravit, negans se in Palatio posse dormire. Ianus
geminus sua sponte apertus est, et Anubis simulacrum
5 marmoreum moveri visum est. Herculis signum
aeneum sudavit in Minucia per plures dies. bubo
etiam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est tam Romae
6 quam Lanuvii. ipse autem prodigium non leve sibi
fecit; nam cum in gladiatoris occisi vulnus manum
misisset, ad caput sibi detersit, et contra consuetudi-
nem paenulatos iussit spectatores non togatos ad munus
convenire, quod funebribus solebat, ipse in pullis
7 vestimentis praesidens. galea eius bis per portam
Libitinensem elata est.
8 Congiarium dedit populo singulis denarios septin-
genos vicenos quinos. circa alios omnes parcissimus
fuit, quod luxuriae sumptibus aerarium minuerat.¹

¹ *minueret* P.

¹ Regarded in early times as birds of ill-omen; in the first century after Christ, however, there was considerable difference of opinion as to their identification; see Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, x. 36.

² The school for gladiators; it was in the general neighbourhood of the Colosseum. Commodus planned to spend the night of 31 Dec., 192 here, before appearing in public on the next day as a *secutor*; see Dio, lxxii. 22, 2.

³ It was an ancient custom that these gates should be open when Rome was at war.

⁴ See note to c. ix. 4.

⁵ The two *porticus Minuciae* were situated in the low-lying district between the Capitoline Hill and the Tiber, close to the Theatre of Marcellus. They were called respectively *Vetus* and *Fruementaria*; in the latter were distributed the tickets which entitled the holders to receive grain from the public granaries.

⁶ According to Dio, lxxii. 21, 3, these cloaks were never worn at the theatre except when an emperor died.

of January a swift coming mist and darkness arose in the Circus ; and before dawn there had already been fire-birds¹ and ill-boding portents. Commodus himself moved his residence from the Palace to the Vectilian Villa² on the Caelian hill, saying that he could not sleep in the Palace. The twin gates of the temple of Janus³ opened of their own accord, and a marble image of Anubis⁴ was seen to move. In the Minucian Portico⁵ a bronze statue of Hercules sweated for several days. An owl, moreover, was caught above his bed-chamber both at Lanuvium and at Rome. He was himself responsible for no inconsiderable an omen relating to himself ; for after he had plunged his hand into the wound of a slain gladiator he wiped it on his own head, and again, contrary to custom, he ordered the spectators to attend his gladiatorial shows clad not in togas but in cloaks, a practice usual at funerals,⁶ while he himself presided in the vestments of a mourner. Twice, moreover, his helmet was borne through the Gate of Libitina.⁷

He gave largess to the people, 725 denarii to each man.⁸ Toward all others he was close-fisted to a degree, since the expense of his luxurious living had drained the treasury. He held many races in the Circus,⁹ but rather as the result of a whim than as

⁷ The gate of an amphitheatre through which were dragged the bodies of slain gladiators. Libitina was the goddess who presided over funerals.

⁸ This sum must be greatly exaggerated, unless it is a computation of what each citizen received during the whole of Commodus' reign. According to Dio, lxxii. 16, 1, he often gave individual largesses of 140 denarii, and his coins show nine occasions when largess was given by him, seven of which date from the time of his reign as sole emperor.

⁹ On one occasion he exhibited thirty races in two hours ; see Dio, lxxii. 16, 1.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

⁹ circenses multos addidit ex libidine potius quam religione et ut dominos factionum ditaret.

XVII. His incitati, licet nimis sero, Quintus Aemilius Laetus praefectus et Marcia concubina eius ² inierunt coniurationem ad occidendum eum. primumque ei venenum dederunt; quod cum minus operaretur, per athletam, cum quo exerceri solebat, eum strangularunt.

³ Fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu insubido, ut ebriosi solent, et sermone incondito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis inluminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris.

⁴ Corpus eius ut unco traheretur atque in Tiberim mitteretur, senatus et populus postulavit, sed postea iussu Pertinacis in monumentum Hadriani translatum est.

⁵ Opera eius praeter lavacrum, quod Cleander nomine ipsius fecerat, nulla exstant. sed nomen eius alienis ⁶ operibus incisum senatus erasit. nec patris autem sui opera perfecit. classem Africanam instituit, quae subsidio esset, si forte Alexandrina frumenta cessassent.

⁸ ridicule etiam Carthaginem Alexandriam Commodianam togatam appellavit, cum classem quoque Africanam ⁹ Commodianam Herculeam appellasset. ornamenta

¹ See note to *Ver.*, iv. 8.

² The story of the murder is given in greater detail by Dio, lxxii. 22, 4, and especially by Herodian, i. 16-17. Eclectus was also one of the conspirators; see c. xv. 2.

³ It was customary to fasten a hook to the bodies of condemned criminals and thus drag them to the Tiber. The populace had demanded that this should be done to the body of Tiberius (Suetonius, *Tiberius*, lxxv. 1).

⁴ Cf. c. xx. 1, and Dio, lxxiii. 2, 1. For his sepulchral inscription see *C.I.L.*, vi. 992 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 401.

⁵ The *Thermae Commodianae*; their exact site is unknown.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XVI. 9—XVII. 9

an act of religion, and also in order to enrich the leaders of the factions.¹

XVII. Because of these things—but all too late—Quintus Aemilius Laetus, prefect of the guard, and Marcia, his concubine, were roused to action and entered into a conspiracy against his life. First they gave him poison; and when this proved ineffective they had him strangled by the athlete with whom he was accustomed to exercise.²

31 Dec.,
192

Physically he was very well proportioned. His expression was dull, as is usual in drunkards, and his speech uncultivated. His hair was always dyed and made lustrous by the use of gold dust, and he used to singe his hair and beard because he was afraid of barbers.

The people and senate demanded that his body be dragged with the hook and cast into the Tiber;³ later, however, at the bidding of Pertinax, it was borne to the Mausoleum of Hadrian.⁴

No public works of his are in existence, except the bath which Cleander built in his name.⁵ But he inscribed his name on the works of others; this the senate erased.⁶ Indeed, he did not even finish the public works of his father. He did organize an African fleet, which would have been useful, in case the grain-supply from Alexandria were delayed.⁷ He jestingly named Carthage Alexandria Commodiana Togata, after entitling the African fleet Commodiana Herculea.⁸ He made certain additions

⁶ Cf. c. xx. 5. Many inscriptions found throughout the empire show Commodus' name carefully erased. The same procedure followed the death of Domitian.

⁷ The fleet was to convey grain to Rome from the province of Africa.

⁸ See note to c. viii. 6.

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- sane quaedam Colosso addidit, quae postea cuncta
 10 sublata sunt. Colossi autem caput dempsit, quod
 Neronis esset, ac suum imposuit et titulum more solito
 subscripsit, ita ut illum Gladiatorium et Effeminatum
 11 non praetermitteret. hunc tamen Severus, imperator
 gravis et vir nominis sui, odio, quantum ¹ videtur, senat-
 us inter deos rettulit, flamine addito, quem ipse vivus
 sibi paraverat, Herculaneo Commodiano.
 12 Sorores tres superstites reliquit. ut natalis eius
 celebraretur, Severus instituit.

XVIII. Adclamations senatus post mortem Com-
 2 modi graves fuerunt. ut autem sciretur quod iudi-
 cium senatus de Commodio fuerit, ipsas adclamations
 de Mario Maximo indidi et sententiam senatus con-
 sulti :

- 3 "Hosti patriae honores detrahantur. parricidae
 honores detrahantur. parricida trahatur. hostis
 patriae, parricida, gladiator in spoliario lanietur.
 4 hostis deorum, carnifex senatus, hostis deorum, par-
 5 ricida senatus ; hostis deorum, hostis senatus. gladi-
 atorem in spoliario. qui senatum occidit, in spoliario
 ponatur ; qui senatum occidit, unco trahatur ; qui
 innocentes occidit, unco trahatur. hostis, parricida,

¹ *quantum* Peter ; *quam* P.

¹ On the Colossus see *Hadr.*, xix. 12-13 and note. This passage is incorrect, since Hadrian had replaced the head of Nero by that of the Sun. According to Dio, lxxii. 22, 3, Commodus also added the club and lion's skin characteristic of Hercules (see c. viii. 5). Dio also gives the inscription (cf. c. xv. 8).

² Commemorated by coins with the legend *Consecratio*;

to the Colossus by way of ornamentation, all of which were later taken off, and he also removed its head, which was a likeness of Nero, and replaced it by a likeness of himself, writing on the pedestal an inscription in his usual style, not omitting the titles *Gladiatorius* and *Effeminatus*.¹ And yet Severus, a stern emperor and a man whose character was well in keeping with his name, moved by hatred for the senate—or so it seems—exalted this creature to a place among the gods² and granted him also a *flamen*, the “*Herculaneus Commodianus*,” whom Commodus while still alive had planned to have for himself.

Three sisters³ survived him. Severus instituted the observance of his birthday.

XVIII. Loud were the acclamations of the senate after the death of Commodus. And that the senate’s opinion of him may be known, I have quoted from Marius Maximus the acclamations themselves,⁴ and the content of the senate’s decree :

“From him who was a foe of his fatherland let his honours be taken away; let the honours of the murderer be taken away; let the murderer be dragged in the dust. The foe of his fatherland, the murderer, the gladiator, in the charnel-house let him be mangled. He is foe to the gods, slayer of the senate, foe to the gods, murderer of the senate, foe of the gods, foe of the senate. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. He who slew the senate, let him be dragged with the hook; he who slew the guiltless, let

see Cohen, iii², p. 234, no. 61; see also p. 359, nos. 1009-1010. He also appears as *Divus Commodus* in inscriptions.

³ *Arria Fadilla*, *Cornificia*, and *Vibia Aurelia Sabina*.

⁴ Cf. *Av. Cass.*, xiii. 1 and note. The outcries are mentioned by Dio, lxxiii. 2, 2-4.

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

6 vere vere.¹ qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco
7 trahatur. qui te occisurus fuit, unco trahatur. no-
biscum timuisti, nobiscum periclitatus es. ut salvi
simus, Iuppiter optime maxime, serva nobis Per-
8 tinacem. fidei praetorianorum feliciter. praetoriis
cohortibus feliciter. exercitibus Romanis feliciter.
pietati senatus feliciter.

9 Parricida trahatur. rogamus, Auguste, parricida
10 trahatur. hoc rogamus, parricida trahatur. exaudi
Caesar: delatores ad leonem. exaudi Caesar: Spera-
11 tum ad leonem. victoriae populi Romani feliciter.
fidei militum feliciter. fidei praetorianorum feliciter.
cohortibus praetoriis feliciter.

12 Hostis statuas undique, parricidae statuas undique,
gladiatoris statuas undique. gladiatoris et parricidae
13 statuae detrahantur. necator civium trahatur. parricida
civium trahatur. gladiatoris statuae detrahantur.
14 te salvo salvi et securi sumus, vere vere, modo vere,
modo digne, modo vere, modo libere.

15 Nunc securi sumus; delatoribus metum. ut securi
simus,² delatoribus metum. ut³ salvi simus, delatores
de senatu, delatoribus fustem. te salvo delatores ad
16 leonem. te imperante delatoribus fustem.

¹ *vere* Peter; *severe* P. ² *sumus* P. ³ *ut* ins. by
Salmasius; om. in P.

¹ Evidently addressed to Pertinax.

² Cf. *Pert.*, v. 1.

³ Apparently an informer.

him be dragged with the hook—a foe, a murderer, verily, verily. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook; he who would have slain you,¹ let him be dragged with the hook. You were in terror along with us, you were endangered along with us. That we may be safe, O Jupiter Best and Greatest, save for us Pertinax.² Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts! Long life to the armies of Rome! Long life to the loyalty of the senate!

Let the murderer be dragged in the dust. We beseech you, O Sire, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. This we beseech you, let the murderer be dragged in the dust. Harken, Caesar: to the lions with the informers! Harken Caesar: to the lions with Speratus!³ Long life to the victory of the Roman people! Long life to the soldiers' guardian care! Long life to the guardian care of the praetorians! Long life to the praetorian cohorts!

On all sides are statues of the foe, on all sides are statues of the murderer, on all sides are statues of the gladiator. The statues of the murderer and gladiator, let them be cast down. The slayer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. The murderer of citizens, let him be dragged in the dust. Let the statues of the gladiator be overthrown. While you are safe, we too are safe and untroubled, verily, verily, if in very truth, then with honour, if in very truth, then with freedom.

Now at last we are secure; let informers tremble. That we may be secure, let informers tremble. That we may be safe, cast informers out of the senate, the club for informers! While you are safe, to the lions with informers! While you are ruler, the club for informers!

COMMODUS ANTONINUS

XIX. Parricidae gladiatoris memoria aboleatur,
parricidae gladiatoris statuæ detrahantur. impuri
gladiatoris memoria aboleatur. gladiatorem in spoli-
2 ario. exaudi Caesar : carnifex unco trahatur. carnifex
senatus more maiorum unco trahatur. saevior Do-
mitiano, impurior Nerone. sic fecit, sic patiat.ur.
memoriae innocentium servantur. honores innocent-
ium restituas, rogamus. parricidae cadaver unco
3 trahatur. gladiatoris cadaver unco trahatur. gladi-
atoris cadaver in spoliario ponatur. perroga, perroga :
4 omnes censem. us unco trahendum. qui omnes occi-
dit, unco trahatur. qui omnem aetatem occidit, unco
trahatur. qui utrumque sexum occidit, unco trahatur.
5 qui sanguini suo non pepercit, unco trahatur. qui
templa spoliavit, unco trahatur. qui testamenta de-
levit, unco trahatur. qui vivos spoliavit, unco trahatur.
6 servis serviimus. qui pretia vitae exegit, unco tra-
hatur. qui pretia vitae exegit et fidem non servavit,
unco trahatur. qui senatum vendidit, unco trahatur.
qui filiis abstulit hereditatem, unco trahatur.
7 Indices de senatu, delatores de senatu, servorum

COMMODUS ANTONINUS XIX. 2-7

Let the memory of the murderer and the gladiator be utterly wiped away. Let the statues of the murderer and the gladiator be overthrown. Let the memory of the foul gladiator be utterly wiped away. Cast the gladiator into the charnel-house. Hearken, Caesar: let the slayer be dragged with the hook. In the manner of our fathers let the slayer of the senate be dragged with the hook. More savage than Domitian, more foul than Nero. As he did unto others, let it be done unto him. Let the remembrance of the guiltless be preserved. Restore the honours of the guiltless, we beseech you. Let the body of the murderer be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be dragged with the hook, let the body of the gladiator be cast into the charnel-house. Call for our vote, call for our vote: with one accord we reply, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew all men, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew young and old, let him be dragged with the hook. He who slew man and woman, let him be dragged with the hook. He who spared not his own blood, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered temples, let him be dragged with the hook. He who set aside the testaments of the dead, let him be dragged with the hook. He who plundered the living, let him be dragged with the hook. We have been slaves to slaves. He who demanded a price for the life of a man, let him be dragged with the hook. He who demanded a price for a life and kept not his promise, let him be dragged with the hook. He who sold the senate, let him be dragged with the hook. He who took from sons their patrimony, let him be dragged with the hook.

Spies and informers, cast them out of the senate.

COMMODOUS ANTONINUS

subornatores de senatu. et tu nobiscum timuisti;
⁸ omnia scis et bonos et malos nosti. omnia scis,
 omnia emenda; pro te timuimus. o nos felices, te
 vere¹ imperante! de parricida refer, refer, perroga.
⁹ praesentiam tuam rogamus. innocentes sepulti non
 sunt. parricidae cadaver trahatur. parricida sepultos
 eruit; parricidae cadaver trahatur."

XX. Et cum iussu Pertinacis Livius Laurensis, pro-
 curator patrimonii, Fabio Ciloni consuli designato
 dedisset, per noctem Commodi cadaver sepultum est.
^{2, 3} senatus adclamavit: "Quo auctore sepelierunt? par-
 ricida sepultus eruatur,² trahatur." Cincius Severus
 dixit: "Iniuste sepultus est. qua pontifex dico, hoc
⁴ collegium pontificum dicit. quoniam laeta³ percensui,
 nunc convertar ad necessaria: censeo quas⁴ is, qui
 nonnisi ad perniciem civium et ad dedecus suum vixit,
 ob honorem suum decerni coegit, abolendas statuas,
⁵ quae undique sunt abolendae, nomenque ex omnibus
 privatis publicisque monumentis eradendum menses-
 que iis nominibus nuncupandos quibus nuncupabantur,
 cum primum illud malum in re publica incubuit."

¹ *vere* Editor (cf. *Claud.*, iv. 3); *uiro* P; *uero* Exc. Cusana,
 Mommsen; *uiso* Hirschfeld, Peter².

² *seruatur* P.
³ *laeta* Peter¹; *laetam* P; *laeta iam* Baehrens, Peter².
⁴ *quae* P.

¹ Commemorated in an inscription from Rome, *C.I.L.*, vi.
 2126. He is one of the characters in the *Deipnosophistai* of
 Athenaeus.

² An office probably created by Claudius. The *patrimonium*
 comprised the estates regarded as the property of the emperor
 and transmitted from one emperor to another, even when
 there was no direct succession. It was distinguished, both
 from the *fiscus*, or imperial treasury, and from the *res privata*,
 the private property of any individual emperor; the latter

Suborners of slaves, cast them out of the senate. You, too, were in terror along with us; you know all, you know both the good and the evil. You know all that we were forced to purchase; all we have feared for your sake. Happy are we, now that you are emperor in truth. Put it to the vote concerning the murderer, put it to the vote, put the question. We ask your presence. The guiltless are yet unburied; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust. The murderer dug up the buried; let the body of the murderer be dragged in the dust."

XX. The body of Commodus was buried during the night, after *Livius Laurens*,¹ the steward of the imperial estate,² had surrendered it at the bidding of *Pertinax*³ to *Fabius Cilo*,⁴ the consul elect. At this the senate cried out: "With whose authority have they buried him? The buried murderer, let him be dug up, let him be dragged in the dust." *Cincius Severus*⁵ said: "Wrongfully has he been buried. And as I speak as pontifex, so speaks the college of the pontifices. And now, having recounted what is joyful, I shall proceed to what is needful: I give it as my opinion that the statues should be overthrown which this man, who lived but for the destruction of his fellow-citizens and for his own shame, forced us to decree in his honour; wherever they are, they should be cast down. His name, moreover, should be erased from all public and private records,⁶ and the months⁷ should be once more called by the names whereby they were called when this scourge first fell upon the state."

was placed in charge of a special procurator by Severus; see *Sev.*, xii. 4.

² See c. xvii. 4.

⁴ See *Carac.*, iii. 2 and note.

⁵ See *Sev.*, xiii. 9.

⁶ See c. xvii. 6.

⁷ See c. xi. 8.

HELVIVS PERTINAX

IULII CAPITOLINI

1. Publio Helvio Pertinaci pater libertinus Helvius Successus fuit, qui filio nomen ex continuatione lignariae negotiationis, quod pertinaciter eam rem² gereret, imposuisse fatetur. natus est Pertinax in Appennino in villa matris. equus pullus ea hora qua natus est in tegulas ascendit atque ibi breviter com-³ moratus decidit et¹ exspiravit. hac re motus pater ad Chaldaeum venit. qui cum illi futura ingentia praedixisset, stirpem² se perdidisse dixit.

⁴ Puer litteris elementariis et calculo imbutus, datus etiam Graeco grammatico atque inde Sulpicio Apollinari, post quem idem Pertinax grammaticen professus est.

5 Sed cum in ea minus quaestus proficeret, per Lollianum Avitum, consularem virum, patris pat-
6 ronum, ducendi ordinis dignitatem petiit. dein prae-

¹ et om. in P.

² stirpem P; stipem Peter.

¹ At Alba Pompeia in Liguria, according to Dio, lxxiii. 1. For the date see c. xv. 6.

² The text is almost certainly corrupt.

³ Frequently cited in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, one of his pupils. He is well known as the composer of metrical summaries of the *Aeneid* and of Terence's comedies.

⁴ Consul in 144.

PERTINAX

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Publius Helvius Pertinax was the son of a freed-man, Helvius Successus by name, who confessed that he gave this name to his son because of his own long-standing connection with the timber-trade, for he had conducted that business with pertinacity. Pertinax himself was born in the Apennines¹ on an estate^{1 Aug., 126} which belonged to his mother. The hour he was born a black horse climbed to the roof, and after remaining there for a short time, fell to the ground and died. Disturbed by this occurrence, his father went to a Chaldean, and he prophesied future greatness for the boy, saying that he himself had lost his child.² As a boy, Pertinax was educated in the rudiments of literature and in arithmetic and was also put under the care of a Greek teacher of grammar and, later, of Sulpicius Apollinaris;³ after receiving instruction from this man, Pertinax himself took up the teaching of grammar.

But when he found little profit in this profession, with the aid of Lollianus Avitus, a former consul⁴ and his father's patron, he sought an appointment to a command in the ranks.⁵ Soon afterwards, in the

³ As chief centurion; see note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1.

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fectus cohortis in Syriam profectus Tito Aurelio imperatore, a praeside Syriae, quod sine diplomatibus cursum usurpaverat, pedibus ab Antiochia ad legationem suam iter facere coactus est. bello Parthico industria sua promeritus in Britanniam translatus est et retentus. post in Moesia rexit alam. deinde alimentis dividendis in Via Aemilia procuravit. inde classem Germanicam rexit. mater eum usque in Germaniam prosecuta¹ est ibique obiit. cuius etiam sepulchrum stare nunc dicitur. inde ad ducenum sestertiorum stipendium translatus in Daciam suspectusque a Marco quorundam artibus² remotus est, et postea per Claudium Pompeianum, generum Marci, quasi adiutor eius futurus vexillis regendis adscitus est. in quo munere adprobatus lectus est in senatu. postea iterum re bene gesta prodita est factio, quae illi concinnata fuerat, Marcusque imperator, ut com-

¹ *persecuta* P.

² *artibus* Peter; *a partibus* P.

¹ i.e. Antoninus Pius.

² An independent company of infantry, normally numbering five hundred and usually commanded by a young man of the equestrian order as the first stage in his official career.

³ The war waged under the nominal command of Verus in 162-166; see *Marc.*, ix. 1 and *Ver.*, vii.

⁴ Probably as tribune of a legion; see Dio, lxxiii. 3, 1. Dio adds that he secured this post through the favour of Claudius Pompeianus (cf. § 4), his former school-mate.

⁵ As *praefectus alae*, or commander of an independent squadron of cavalry. This was the third of the military posts required of members of the equestrian order who were aspirants for a political career.

⁶ On the *alimenta* see note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8. The Via Aemilia ran from Ariminum (Rimini) on the Adriatic through Bononia (Bologna) to Placentia (Piacenza) on the Po,

PERTINAX I. 6—II. 6

reign of Titus Aurelius,¹ he set out for Syria as prefect of a cohort,² and there, because he had used the imperial post without official letters of recommendation, he was forced by the governor of Syria to make his way from Antioch to his station on foot. II. Winning promotion because of the energy he showed in the Parthian war,³ he was transferred to Britain⁴ and there retained. Later he led a squadron⁵ in Moesia, and after that he supervised the distribution of grants to the poor on the Aemilian Way.⁶ Next, he commanded the German fleet.⁷ His mother followed him all the way to Germany, and there she died, and her tomb is said to be still standing there. From this command he was transferred to Dacia⁸ at a salary of two hundred thousand sesterces, but through the machinations of certain persons he came to be distrusted by Marcus and was removed from this post; afterwards, however, through the influence of Claudius Pompeianus, the son-in-law of Marcus,⁹ he was detailed to the command of detachments as though likely to be appointed Pompeianus' aide.¹⁰ Meeting with approval in this position, he was enrolled in the senate. Later, when he had won success in war for the second time, the plot which had been made against him was revealed, and Marcus, in order to remedy the wrong he had done him, raised

⁷ The fleet on the Rhine.

⁸ As procurator, with the rank of *ducenarius*. He had the supervision of the finances of the province.

⁹ See *Marc.*, xx. 6. Pompeianus had befriended him previously (see § 1 and note).

¹⁰ Pompeianus was governor of Pannonia Inferior in 167 (see note to *Marc.*, xx. 7), and it was probably at this time that he appointed Pertinax to this command.

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pensaret iniuriam, praetorium eum fecit et primae
legioni regendae imposuit, statimque Raetias et
7 Noricum ab hostibus vindicavit. ex quo eminente
industria studio Marci imperatoris consul est desig-
8 natus. exstat oratio apud Marium Maximum laudes
eius continens et omnia vel quae fecit vel quae per-
9 pessus est. et praeter illam orationem, quam longum
fuit conectere, saepissime Pertinax a Marco et in con-
tione militari et in senatu laudatus est, doluitque
palam Marcus, quod senator esset et ¹ praefectus
10 praetorii fieri a se non posset. Cassiano motu com-
posito e Syria ad Danuvii tutelam profectus est atque
11 inde Moesiae utriusque, mox Daciae regimen accepit.
bene gestis his provinciis Syriam meruit.

III. Integre se usque ad Syriae regimen Pertinax
tenuit, post excessum vero Marci pecuniae studuit;
2 quare etiam dictis popularibus lacessitus. curiam
Romanam post quattuor provincias consulares, quia
consulatum absens gesserat, iam dives ingressus est,
3 cum eam senator antea non vidisset. iussus est prae-
terea statim a Perenni in Liguriam secedere in villam
paternam; nam pater eius tabernam coactiliariam ² in

¹ et om. in P. ² coactiliariam Scaliger, Mommsen;
coactiliriam P; coctiliçiam Salmasius, Peter.

¹ i.e. the rank in the senate of those who had held the
praetorship.

² The First Adiutrix, which in the second century was
quartered in Upper Pannonia.

³ In connection with Marcus' campaign in Pannonia; see
note to *Marc.*, xiv. 6.

⁴ He evidently accompanied Marcus thither at the time of
Cassius' revolt; see *Marc.*, xxv. 1.

⁵ Cf. c. ix. 4-6; xiii. 4.

PERTINAX II. 7—III. 3

him to the rank of praetor¹ and put him in command of the First Legion.² Whereupon Pertinax straightway rescued Raetia and Noricum from the enemy.³ Because of his conspicuous prowess in this campaign he was appointed, on the recommendation of Marcus, to the consulship. Marcus' speech has been preserved ca. 175 in the works of Marius Maximus; it contains a eulogy of him and relates, moreover, everything that he did and suffered. And besides this speech, which it would take too much space to incorporate in this work, Marcus praised Pertinax frequently, both in the assemblies of soldiers and in the senate, and publicly expressed regret that he was a senator and therefore could not be made prefect of the guard. After Cassius' revolt had been suppressed, Pertinax set out from Syria⁴ 175 to protect the bank of the Danube, and presently he was appointed to govern both the Moesias and, soon thereafter, Dacia. And by reason of his success in these provinces, he won the appointment to Syria.

III. Up to the time of his administration of Syria, Pertinax preserved his honesty, but after the death of Marcus he became desirous of wealth, and was in consequence assailed by popular gibes.⁵ It was not until after he had governed four consular provinces and had become a rich man that he entered the Roman senate-chamber, which, during all his career as senator, he had never before seen, for during his term as consul he had been absent from Rome.⁶ Immediately after this, he received orders from Perennis to retire to his father's farm in 182 Liguria,⁷ where his father had kept a cloth-maker's

⁶ He seems to have been in Syria during the short term for which he was appointed consul; see c. ii. 7 and 10.

⁷ See note to c. i. 2.

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- 4 Liguria exercuerat. sed posteaquam in Liguriam venit, multis agris coemptis tabernam paternam manente forma priore infinitis aedificiis circumdedit. fuitque illic per triennium et mercatus est per suos servos.
- 5 Occiso sane Perenni Commodus Pertinaci satisfecit eumque petiit litteris,¹ ut ad Britanniam proficisceretur. profectusque milites ab omni seditione deterruit, cum illi quemcumque imperatorem vellent habere
- 6 et ipsum specialiter Pertinacem. tunc Pertinax malevolentiae notam subiit, quod dictus est insimulasse apud Commodum adfectati imperii Antistium
- 7 Burrum et Arrium Antoninum. et seditiones quidem contra se ipse² compescuit in Britannia,³ verum ingens periculum adiit seditione legionis paene occisus,
- 8 certe inter occisos relictus. quam quidem rem idem
- 9 Pertinax acerrime vindicavit. denique postea veniam legationis petiit, dicens sibi ob defensam disciplinam
- 10 IV. infestas esse legiones. accepto successore alimentorum ei cura mandata est. dein pro consule Africae
- 2 factus est. in quo proconsulatu multas seditiones perpessus dicitur vaticinationibus carminum⁴ quae de templo Caelestis emergunt. post hoc praefectus urbi
- 3 factus. in qua praefectura post Fuscianum, hominem severum, Pertinax mitissimus et humanissimus fuit et

¹ litteris Peter; litteras P. ² contra <se> ipse Lenz; contra ipse P; contra imperatorem Obrecht, Peter. ³ Britanniam P, Peter. ⁴ carminum Peter⁵; earum P.

¹ See *Com.*, vi. 2 and notes. ² See *Com.*, vi. 11 and vii. 1.

³ See *Hadr.*, vii. 8, and c. ii. 2. He was now *praefectus alimentorum*, charged with the supervision of the *alimenta* for the whole of Italy, whereas previously he had been responsible for one district.

shop. On coming to Liguria, however, he bought up a great number of farms, and added countless buildings to his father's shop, which he still kept in its original form; and there he stayed for three years carrying on the business through his slaves.

After Perennis had been put to death, Commodus¹⁸⁵ made amends to Pertinax, and in a letter asked him to set out for Britain.¹ After his arrival there he kept the soldiers from any revolt, for they wished to set up some other man as emperor, preferably Pertinax himself. And now Pertinax acquired an evil character for enviousness, for he was said to have laid before Commodus the charge that Antistius Burrus and Arrius Antoninus were aspiring to the throne.² And certainly he did suppress a mutiny against himself in Britain, but in so doing he came into great danger; for in a mutiny of a legion he was almost killed, and indeed was left among the slain. This mutiny Pertinax punished very severely. Later on, however, he petitioned to be excused from his governorship, saying that the legions were hostile to him because he had been strict in his discipline. IV. After he had been relieved of this post, he was put in charge of the grants to the poor.³ Next he was made proconsul of Africa. During this proconsulship, it is said, he suppressed many rebellions by the aid of prophetic verses which issued from the temple of Caelestis.⁴ Next he was made prefect of the city, and in this office, as successor to Fuscianus,⁵ a very stern man, Pertinax

⁴ The tutelary goddess of Carthage, Tanith, worshipped in the imperial period under the name of *Caelestis Afrorum Dea*. Her cult extended through northern Africa to Spain and was spread by soldiers over the empire. See also *Macr.*, iii. 1.

⁵ See *Marc.*, iii. 8.

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ipsi Commodus plurimum placuit, quia . . . illi esset
4 iterum cum Pertinax factus est. tunc Pertinax inter-
ficiendi Commodi conscientiam delatam sibi ab aliis
non fugit.
5 Commodus autem interempto Laetus praefectus
praetorii et Eclectus¹ cubicularius ad eum venerunt
et² eum confirmarunt atque in castra duxerunt.
6 illic Pertinax milites adlocutus est, donativum pro-
misit, ingeri sibi imperium a Laeto et Eclecto³ dixit.
7 fictum est autem quod morbo esset Commodus ex-
stinctus, quia et milites, ne temptarentur, pertimes-
cebant. denique a paucis primum est Pertinax
8 imperator appellatus. factus est autem sexagenario
9 maior imperator pridie kal. Ian. de castris nocte
cum ad senatum venisset et cellam curiae iussisset
aperiri, neque inveniretur aedituus, in Templo Con-
10 cordiae resedit, et cum ad eum Claudius Pompeianus,
gener Marci,⁴ venisset casumque Commodi⁵ lacri-
masset, hortatus Pertinax ut imperium sumeret.
sed ille recusavit, quia iam imperatorem Pertinacem
11 videbat. statim ergo omnis magistratus cum consule
ad curiam venerunt ingressumque Pertinacem nocte

¹ *electus* P. ² *et* Salmasius; *ut* P. ³ *electo* P. ⁴ *ger-*
manici P. ⁵ *commodo* P.

¹ No successful attempt has been made to fill this lacuna.

² See *Com.*, xvii. 1.

³ Twelve thousand sesterces, or three thousand denarii; see c. xv. 7, and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 2. According to c. xv. 7, he paid only half of it, but according to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4, he paid all that he had promised.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxiii. 1, 3, the soldiers were not enthusiastic.

PERTINAX IV. 4-11

was exceedingly gentle and considerate, and he proved very pleasing to Commodus himself, for he was . . .¹ when Pertinax was made consul for the second time. And while in this position, Pertinax did not avoid complicity in the murder of Commodus, when a share in this plot was offered him by the other conspirators.

After Commodus was slain,² Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and Eclectus, the chamberlain, came to Pertinax and reassured him, and then led him to the camp. There he harangued the soldiers, promised a donative,³ and said that the imperial power had been thrust upon him by Laetus and Eclectus. It was pretended, moreover, that Commodus had died a natural death, chiefly because the soldiers feared that their loyalty was merely being tested. Finally, and at first by only a few, Pertinax was hailed as emperor.⁴ He was made emperor on the day before the Kalends^{31 Dec.,} of January, being then more than sixty years old.⁵ During the night he came from the camp to the senate, but, when he ordered the opening of the hall of the senate-house and the attendant could not be found, he seated himself in the Temple of Concord.⁶ And when Claudius Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in-law, came to him and bemoaned the death of Commodus, Pertinax urged him to take the throne; Claudius, however, seeing that Pertinax was already invested with the imperial power, refused. Without further delay, therefore, all the magistrates, in company with the consul, came to the senate-house, and Pertinax, who had come in by night, was saluted as emperor.

¹ Sixty-six.

² At the western end of the Forum at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. The senate often met there.

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V. imperatorem appellaverunt. ipse autem Pertinax post laudes suas a consulibus dictas, et post vituperationem Commodi adclamationibus senatus ostensam egit gratias senatui et praecipue Laeto, praefecto praetorii, quo auctore et Commodus interemptus et ipse imperator est factus.

- ² Sed cum Laeto gratias egisset Pertinax, Falco consul dixit: "Qualis imperator es futurus, hinc intellegimus, quod Laetum et Marciam,¹ ministros
³ scelerum Commodi, post te videmus". cui Pertinax respondit: "Iuvenis es consul nec parendi scis necessitates. paruerunt² inviti Commodi, sed ubi habuerunt facultatem, quid semper voluerint ostenderunt". eadem die qua Augustus est appellatus, et Flavia Titiana uxor eius Augusta est appellata, iis horis quibus ille in Capitolium vota solvebat.
⁵ primus sane omnium ea die qua Augustus est appellatus, etiam patris patriae nomen recepit nec non³
⁶ simul etiam imperium proconsulare nec non³ ius quartae relationis. quod ominis⁴ loco fuit Pertinaci.
⁷ Ad Palatium ergo Pertinax profectus, quod tunc vacuum erat, quia Commodus in Vectilianis occisus est, petenti signum prima die tribuno dedit "militemus," exprobrans utique segnitiam temporum superiorum. quod quidem etiam ante in omnibus ducatus

¹ *marcianum P.* ² *parauerunt P.* ³ *non ins. in P*
 corr.; om. in P¹. ⁴ *omnis P¹.*

¹ See *Com.*, xviii.-xix.

² Pertinax refused this name for his wife and that of Caesar for his son; see c. vi. 9 and Dio, lxxiii. 7, 1-2. Dio suggests that it was on account of her bad character; see also c. xiii. 8. However, Titiana is called Augusta in inscriptions and on coins.

³ See *Hadr.*, vi. 4 and note.

⁴ See note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

PERTINAX V. 2-7

V. Pertinax, on his part, after his own praises had been recited by the consul and Commodus had been execrated in the outcries of the senate,¹ returned thanks to the senate in general, and in particular to Laetus, the prefect of the guard, through whose instrumentality Commodus had been slain and he himself declared emperor.

When Pertinax had returned thanks to Laetus, however, Falco, the consul, said: "We may know what sort of an emperor you will be from this, that we see behind you Laetus and Marcia, the instruments of Commodus' crimes". To him Pertinax replied: "You are young, Consul, and do not know the necessity of obedience. They obeyed Commodus, but against their will, and as soon as they had an opportunity, they showed what had always been their desire." On the same day that he was entitled Augustus, at the very hour at which he was paying his vows on the Capitolium, Flavia Titiana, his wife, was also given the name of Augusta.² Of all the emperors he was the first to receive the title of Father of his Country on the day when he was named Augustus.³ And at the same time he received the proconsular power and the right of making four proposals to the senate⁴—a combination which Pertinax regarded as an omen.

And so Pertinax repaired to the Palace, which was vacant at that time, for Commodus had been slain in the Vectilian Villa.⁵ And on the first day of his reign, when the tribune asked for the watchword, he gave "let us be soldiers," as if reproving the former reign for its inactivity. As a matter of fact, he had really used this same watchword before in all his

⁵ See *Com.*, xvi. 3.

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VI. dederat. exprobrationem autem istam milites non
tulerunt statimque de imperatore mutando cogitarunt.
2 ea die etiam ad convivium magistratus et procres
senatus rogavit, quam consuetudinem Commodus
3 praetermiserat. sane iam¹ postero kalendarum die
cum statuae Commodi deicerentur, gemuerunt mili-
tes, simul quia iterum signum idem dederat imperator.
4 timebatur autem militia sub sene imperatore. de-
nique tertium nonarum diem votis ipsi milites Tri-
arium Maternum Lascivium, senatorem nobilem, ducere
in castra voluerunt, ut eum rebus Romanis imponerent.
5 sed ille nudus fugit atque ad Pertinacem in Palatium
venit et post ex urbe decessit.
6 Timore sane Pertinax coactus omnia quae Commo-
7 dus militibus et veteranis dederat confirmavit. susci-
pere se etiam imperium a senatu dixit, quod iam sponte
8 inierat. quaestionem maiestatis penitus tulit cum
iureiurando, revocavit etiam eos qui deportati fuerant
crimine maiestatis, eorum memoria restituta qui occisi
9 fuerant. filium eius senatus Caesarem appellavit.
sed Pertinax nec uxoris Augustae appellationem re-
10 cepit et de filio dixit: "cum meruerit". et cum
Commodus adlectionibus innumeris praetorias mis-
cuisset, senatus consultum Pertinax fecit iussitque

¹ iam Peter; cum P.

¹ Cf. *Com.*, xx. 4-5.

² Yet according to c. iv. 11 and Dio, lxxiii. 1, 4, he was regularly elected by the senate.

³ According to Dio, lxxiii. 5, 3, their bodies were disinterred and then laid in their ancestral tombs.

⁴ See note to c. v. 4.

⁵ See note to c. ii. 6.

PERTINAX VI. 2-10

commands. VI. But the soldiers would not tolerate a reproof and straightway began to make plans for changing the emperor. On this same day also he invited the magistrates and the chief men of the senate to a banquet, a practice which Commodus had discontinued. But, indeed, on the day after the Kalends ^{2 Jan.,} of January, when the statues of Commodus were overthrown,¹ the soldiers groaned aloud, for he gave this same watchword for the second time, and besides they dreaded service under an emperor advanced in years. Finally on the third of the month, just as the vows were being assumed, the soldiers tried to lead Triarius Maternus Lascivius, a senator of distinction, to the camp, in order to invest him with the sovereignty of the Roman Empire. He, however, fled from them quite naked and came to Pertinax in the Palace and presently departed from the city.

Induced by fear, Pertinax ratified all the concessions which Commodus had made to the soldiers and veterans. He declared, also, that he had received from the senate the sovereignty which, in fact, he had already assumed on his own responsibility.² He abolished trials for treason absolutely and bound himself thereto by an oath, he recalled those who had been exiled on the charge of treason, and he re-established the good name of those who had been slain.³ The senate granted his son the name of Caesar, but Pertinax not only refused to allow the name Augusta to be conferred on his wife but also, in the case of his son, said: "Only when he earns it".⁴ And since Commodus had obscured the significance of the praetorian rank⁵ by countless appointments thereto, Pertinax, after securing the passage of a decree of the senate, issued an order that those who

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eos, qui praeturas non gessissent sed adlectione ac-
 cepissent, post eos esse qui vere praetores fuissent.
 11 sed hinc quoque grande odium sibi multorum com-
 VII. movit. census retractari iussit. delatores convictos¹
 graviter puniri iussit et tamen mollius quam priores
 imperatores, unicuique dignitati, si delationis crimen
 2 incurreret, poenam statuens. legem sane tulit, ut
 testamenta priora non prius essent inrita quam alia
 perfecta essent, neve ob hoc fiscus aliquando succe-
 3 deret. ipseque professus est nullius se aditurum²
 hereditatem, quae aut adulatione alicuius delata esset
 aut lite perplexa, ut legitimi heredes et necessarij
 privarentur. additque senatus consulto haec verba:
 4 "Sati³ est, patres conscripti, inopem rem publicam
 obtinere, quam ad divitiarum cumulum per discrimi-
 5 num atque dedecorum vestigia pervenire". donativa
 6 et congiaria, quae Commodus promiserat, solvit. an-
 nonae consultissime providit. et cum tantam penu-
 riam⁴ aerarii haberet, ut praeter decies sestertium
 non se invenisse fateretur, coactus est ea exigere
 quae Commodus indixerat, contra quam professus
 7 fuerat. denique aggressus eum Lollianus Gentianus
 consularis, quod contra promissum faceret, necessitatis
 rationem accepit.

¹ *convictos* Faber, Peter; *uinctos* P. ² *adit^uram* P.
³ *sati^us* Gruter; *stati^us* P¹; *sancti^us* P corr. ⁴ *pecuni^uam* P.

¹ In cases where there was no will or no natural heir the property reverted to the imperial treasury.

² Cf. c. vi. 6.

³ This figure is also given by Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4 (250,000 denarii).

⁴ Q. Hedi^us Rufus Lollianus Gentianus was the son of the patron of Pertinax' father; see c. i. 5.

had secured the rank of praetor not by actual service, but by appointment, should be ranked below those who had been praetors in reality. But by this act also he brought on himself the bitter enmity of many men. VII. He gave orders for the taking of a new census. He gave orders, too, that men convicted of lodging false accusations should be punished with severity, exercising, nevertheless, greater moderation than former emperors, and at the same time ordaining a separate punishment for each rank in case any of its members should be convicted of this offence. He enacted a law, moreover, that an old will should not become invalid before the new one was formally completed, fearing that some time the privy-purse might in this way succeed to an inheritance.¹ He declared that for his own part he would accept no legacy which came to him either through flattery or by reason of legal entanglements if thereby the rightful heirs and the near of kin should be robbed of their rights, and when the decree of the senate was passed, he added these words: "It is better, O Conscript Fathers, to rule a state that is impoverished, than to attain to a great mass of wealth by paths of peril and dishonour". He paid the donatives and largesses which Commodus had promised,² and provided with the greatest care for the grain-supply. And when the treasury was drained to such a degree that he was unable to put his hands on more than a million sesterces,³ as he himself admitted, he was forced, in violation of a previous promise, to exact certain revenues which Commodus had remitted. And finally, when Lollianus Gentianus,⁴ a man of consular rank, brought him to task for breaking his promise, he excused himself on the ground that it was a case of necessity.

PERTINAX

8 Auctionem rerum Commodi habuit, ita ut et pueros
 et concubinas vendi iuberet, exceptis iis qui per vim
 9 Palatio videbantur inserti. et de iis quos vendi iussit
 multi postea reducti ad ministerium oblectarant
 senem, qui¹ quidem per alios principes usque ad
 10 senatorium dignitatem pervenerunt. scurras turpis-
 simorum nominum dedecora praeferentes² proscripsit
 11 ac vendidit. cuius nundinationis pecuniam, quae
 VIII. ingens fuit, militibus donativo dedit. a libertis etiam
 ea exegit quibus Commodo vendente ditati fuerant.
 2 auctio sane rerum Commodi in his insignior fuit:
 vestis subtegmine serico aureis filis insigni opere,³
 tunicas paenulasque, lacernas et chiridotas Dalmatarum
 et cirratas militares purpureasque chlamydes Grae-
 3 canicas atque castrenses. et cuculli Bardaici et toga
 4 armaque gladiatoria gemmis auroque composita. et
 machaeras Herculaneas et torques gladiatorias vasaque
 de luto⁴ auro ebore argento citroque composita.
 5 atque etiam phallovitrobuli⁵ ex materie eadem et vasa
 Samnitica calfactandae resinae ac pici devel-
 6 lendis hominibus ac leviginandis. nec non vehicula
 arte fabricae nova perplexis divisisque rotarum orbi-

¹ qui om. in P. ² perferentes P. ³ insigni opere
 Casaubon; insignior per P. ⁴ de luto Editor; eludo P;
 eluto Peter¹; de ludo Krauss, Peter². ⁵ phallouitrobuli
 Egnatius, Peter¹; phandouitrobuli P, Peter².

¹ See *Com.*, v. 4.

² *Com.*, x. 8. According to Dio, lxxiii. 6, 2, it was Laetus who offered these for sale.

³ See c. iv. 6. He also gave a largess of 100 denarii to each; see c. xv. 7; Dio, lxxiii. 5, 4; and the coins with the legend *Liberalitas Aug(usti)*, Cohen, iii², p. 392 f., nos. 23-28.

⁴ See *Com.*, xiv., 4-7.

⁵ *Com.*, viii. 8.

⁶ The *bardocucullus*, a heavy coarse cloak with a hood. It seems to have been named from the Bardaei, a tribe in

He held a sale of Commodus' belongings, even ordering the sale of all his youths and concubines, except those who had apparently been brought to the Palace by force.¹ Of those whom he ordered sold, however, many were soon brought back to his service and ministered to the pleasures of the old man, and under other emperors they even attained to the rank of senator. Certain buffoons, also, who bore the shame of unmentionable names,² he outlawed and sold. The monèys gained in this traffick-ing, which were immense, he used for a donative to the soldiers.³ VIII. He also demanded from Commodus' freedmen the sums wherewith they had been enriched when Commodus held his sales.⁴ In the sale of Commodus' goods the following articles were especially noteworthy : robes of silk foundation with gold embroidery of remarkable workmanship ; tunics, mantles and coats ; tunics made with long sleeves in the manner of the Dalmatians⁵ and fringed military cloaks ; purple cloaks made in the Greek fashion, and purple cloaks made for service in the camp. Also Bardaeon hooded cloaks,⁶ and a gladiator's toga and harness finished in gold and jewels ; also swords, such as those with which Hercules is represented, and the necklaces worn by gladiators, and vessels, some of pottery, some of gold, some of ivory, some of silver, and some of citrus wood. Also cups in the shape of the phallus, made of these same materials ; and Samnite pots for heating the resin and pitch used for depilating men and making their skins smooth. And furthermore, carriages, the very latest master-pieces of the art, made with entwined and carven

Illyricum, but it was also manufactured in Gaul (see Martial, i. 53, 5).

PERTINAX

- bus¹ et exquisitis sedilibus nunc ad solem declinandum
 7 nunc ad spiritus opportunitatem per vertiginem; et
 alia iter metientia horasque monstrantia et cetera
 vitiis eius convenientia.
 8 Reddidit praeterea dominis eos qui se ex privatis
 9 domibus in aulam contulerant. convivium impera-
 torium ex immenso ad certum revocavit modum.
 10 sumptus etiam omnes Commodi recidit.² exemplo
 autem imperatoris, cum ille parcus se ageret, ex
 11 omnium continentia vilitas nata est. nam impera-
 torium sumptum pulsus non necessariis ad soliti dimi-
 IX. dium detraxit. praemia militantibus posuit. aes
 alienum, quod primo imperii tempore contraxerat,
 2 solvit. aerarium in suum statum restituit. ad opera
 publica certum sumptum constituit. reformandis
 viis³ pecuniam contulit. stipendia plurimis retro
 debita exsolvit. obeundis postremo cunctis muni-
 3 bus fiscum parem fecit. alimentaria etiam compendia,
 quae novem annorum ex instituto Traiani debebantur,
 obdurata verecundia sustulit.
 4 Avaritiae suspicione privatus non caruit, cum apud⁴
 Vada Sabatia oppressis faenore possessoribus latius
 5 suos tenderet⁵ fines. denique ex versu Luciliano
 6 agrarius mergus est appellatus. multi autem eum

¹ *urbibus* P.
 Casaubon; *suis* P.
teneret P.

² *recidit* Egnatius; *reddit* P.
⁴ *aplit* P.

³ *viis*
⁵ *tenderet* Casaubon;

¹ Cf. c. xii. 5.

² See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 8. Pertinax had himself held offices in this branch of the government; see c. ii. 2 and c. iv. 1.

³ Cf. c. iii. 1.

⁴ Cf. c. xiii. 4.

⁵ The famous satirist of the second century B.C.

wheels and carefully planned seats that could be turned so as to avoid the sun at one moment, at another, face the breeze. There were other carriages that measured the road, and showed the time; and still others designed for the indulgence of his vices.

Pertinax restored to their masters, moreover, all slaves who had come from private homes to the Palace. He reduced the imperial banquets from something absolutely unlimited to a fixed standard,¹ and, indeed, cut down all expenses from what they had been under Commodus. And from the example set by the emperor, who lived rather simply, there resulted a general economy and a consequent reduction in the cost of living; for by eliminating the unessentials he reduced the upkeep of the court to half the usual amount. IX. He established rewards for the soldiers, paid the debt which he had contracted at the beginning of his reign, and restored the treasury to its normal condition. He set aside a fixed sum for public buildings, furnished funds for repairing the highways, and paid the arrears in the salaries of very many men. Finally, he made the privy-purse capable of sustaining all the demands made upon it, and with rigorous honesty he even assumed the responsibility for nine years' arrears of money for the poor² which was owed through a statute of Trajan's.

Before he was made emperor he was not free from the suspicion of greed,³ for he had extended his own holdings at Vada Sabatia⁴ by foreclosing mortgages; indeed, in a line quoted from Lucilius⁵ he was called a land-shark.⁶ Many men, moreover, have set down

⁶ Properly a kind of sea-gull, proverbial as a type of voraciousness; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi. 202.

PERTINAX

etiam in provinciis, quas consularis gessit, sordide se egisse in litteras rettulere. nam vacationes et legationes militares dictur vendidisse. denique cum parentum minimum esset patrimonium, et nulla hereditas obvenisset, subito dives est factus.

Omnibus sane possessiones suas reddidit quibus Commodus ademerat, sed non sine pretio. senatui legitimo semper interfuit ac semper aliquid rettulit. civilem se salutantibus et interpellantibus semper exhibuit. eos qui calumniis adpetiti per servos fuerant damnatis severius¹ delatoribus liberavit, in crucem sublati talibus servis; aliquos etiam mortuos vindicavit.

X. Insidias paravit ei Falco consul, qui² questus est in senatu volens imperare. cui³ quidem credidit senatus⁴ cum⁵ sibi quidam servus, quasi Fabiae† setique⁶ filius ex Ceionii Commodi familia, Palatinam domum ridicule⁷ vindicasset, cognitusque iussus esset⁸ flagellis caesus domino restitui. in cuius vindicta ii qui⁹ oderant Pertinacem occasionem seditionis invenisse dicuntur. Falconi tamen pepercit et a senatu im-

¹severius Walter; *servis* P, Peter. ²*Falco consul, qui questus* Editor; *Falco conquestus* P; lacuna ind. by Peter. ³*cui* Editor; *quo* P; *quod* Egnatius, Peter¹; †*quo* Peter². ⁴*senatus* ins. by Editor; *credidit*, P, Peter. ⁵*cum* sugg. by Peter; *dum* P, Peter. ⁶so P; *fauias* esset filius Edit. princeps, Peter¹. ⁷*ridicula* P. ⁸*esset* Baehrens, Unger, Peter²; *est* P, Peter¹. ⁹*quod* P.

¹According to Dio, lxxiii. 8, 2, the conspiracy was organized by Laetus and the guard, which objected to the stern discipline enforced by Pertinax; Falco was chosen merely as a promising candidate for the throne.

²The text is hopelessly corrupt and the name of the pretender's father has been lost; on Fabia see *Marc.*, xxix. 10; *Ver.*, x. 3-4.

in writing that in those provinces which he ruled as proconsul he conducted himself in a grasping manner ; for he sold, they said, both exemptions from service and military appointments. And lastly, although his father's estate was very small, and no legacy was left him, he suddenly became rich.

As a matter of fact, however, he restored to everyone the property of which Commodus had despoiled him, but not without compensation. He always attended the stated meetings of the senate and always made some proposal. To those who came to greet him or who accosted him he was always courteous. He absolved a number of men whose slaves had assailed them with false charges, and punished severely those who brought the accusation, crucifying all such slaves ; and he also rehabilitated the memory of some who had died.

X. A plot was attempted against him¹ by Falco the consul, who, being eager to rule, made complaint in the senate. He, in fact, was believed by the senate, when a certain slave, on the ground that he was the son of Fabia and . . .² of the household of Ceionius Commodus, laid a baseless claim to the residence on the Palatine and, on being recognised, was sentenced to be soundly flogged and returned to his master. In the punishment of this man those who hated Pertinax are said to have found an opportunity for an outbreak. Nevertheless, Pertinax spared Falco, and furthermore asked the senate to pardon him.³ In the end Falco lived out his life in security

¹He had been declared a public enemy by the senate, but Pertinax asked that his life should be spared, declaring that he wished no senator to be put to death during his reign ; see Dio, lxxiii. 8, 5.

PERTINAX

- 5punitatem eius petiit. denique Falco in rebus suis
6securus vixit et herede filio periit. quamvis multi
7Falconem nescisse dixerint imperium sibi parari. alii
etiam servis, qui rationes interverterant, falsis testi-
moniiis adpetitum eum esse dixerunt.
- 8 Sed Pertinaci factio praeparata est per Laetum
praefectum praetorii et eos quos Pertinacis sancti-
9monia offenderat. Laetum enim paenituerat quod
imperatorem fecerat Pertinacem, idcirco quia eum
velut stultum intimatorem nonnullarum rerum
10 reprehendebat. grave praeterea militibus visum,
quod in causa Falconis multos milites ad unius servi
XI. testimonium occidi praeceperat. trecenti igitur de
castris armati ad imperatorias aedes¹ cuneo facto
2 milites venire. eadem tamen die immolante Parti-
nace negatur in hostia cor repertum; et cum id vellet
procurare, caput extorum non deprehendit. et tunc
3 quidem omnes milites in castris manebant. qui cum
e² castris ad obsequium principis convenissent, et
Pertinax eo die processionem, quam³ ad Athenaeum
paraverat, ut audiret poetam, ob sacrificii praesagium
distulisset, ii qui ad obsequium venerant redire in
4 castra coeperunt. sed subito globus ille in Palatium
pervenit neque aut arceri potuit aut imperatori nun-

¹ *aedes* Egnatius; *caedes* P. ² *e castris* Petschenig; *cas-*
tris P; *de castris* Peter. ³ *quam* om. in P.

¹ The account of the murder of Pertinax, as given in Dio. lxxiii. 9-10, agrees in the main with this version.

² According to Dio, Laetus had them put to death, alleging that it was by order of Pertinax.

³ Two hundred, according to Dio.

⁴ An auditorium built by Hadrian, where rhetoricians and

and in possession of his property, and at his death his son succeeded to the inheritance. Many men, however, claimed that Falco was unaware that men were planning to make him emperor, and others said that slaves who had falsified his accounts assailed him with trumped-up charges.

However, a conspiracy¹ was organized against Pertinax by Laetus, the prefect of the guard, and sundry others who were displeased by his integrity. Laetus regretted that he had made Pertinax emperor, because Pertinax used to rebuke him as a stupid babbler of various secrets. It seemed to the soldiers, moreover, a very cruel measure, that in the matter of Falco he had had many of their comrades put to death on the testimony of a single slave.² XI. And so three hundred soldiers,³ formed into a wedge, marched under arms from the camp to the imperial residence. On that day, it was said, no heart had been found in the victim when Pertinax performed a sacrifice, and when he tried to avert this evil omen, he was unable to discover the upper portion of the liver. And so on that day, the great body of the soldiers remained in the camp. Some, indeed, had come forth from the camp in order to act as escort to the emperor, but Pertinax, because of the unfavourable sacrifice, postponed for that day a projected visit to the Athenæum,⁴ where he had planned to hear a poet, and thereupon the escort began to return to the camp. But just at that moment the band of troops mentioned above arrived at the Palace, and neither could they be prevented from entering nor could their entrance be announced to the Emperor.

poets recited their works; see *Alex.*, xxxv. 2; *Gord.*, iii. 4; *Victor, de Caesaribus*, 14.

PERTINAX

5 tiari. enimvero tantum odium in Pertinacem omnium
 aulicorum fuit, ut ad facinus milites hortarentur.
 6 supervenerunt Pertinaci, cum ille aulicum famulicium
 ordinaret, ingressique porticus Palatii usque ad locum
 7 qui appellatur Sicilia et Iovis cenatio. hoc cognito
 Pertinax Laetum praefectum praetorii ad eos misit.
 sed ille declinatis militibus per porticus egressus
 8 adoperto capite domum se contulit. verum cum ad
 interiora prorumperent, Pertinax ad eos processit
 9 eosque longa et gravi oratione placavit. sed cum
 Tausius quidam, unus e Tungris, in iram et in timo-
 rem milites loquendo adduxisset, hastam in pectus
 10 Pertinacis obiecit. tunc ille precatus Iovem Ultorem
 11 toga caput operuit atque a ceteris confossus est. et
 Eclectus² quidem confossis duobus cum eodem perit;
 12 reliqui autem cubicularii palatini (nam suos statim, ut
 imperator factus est, filiis emancipatis dederat) diffu-
 13 gerunt. multi sane dicunt, etiam cubiculum milites
 inrupisse atque illic circa lectum fugientem Pertinacem
 occidisse.

XII. Fuit autem senex venerabilis, inmissa barba,
 reflexo capillo, habitudine corporis pinguiore, ventre
 prominulo, statura imperatoria, eloquentia mediocri,
 et magis blandus quam benignus nec umquam credi-
 2tus simplex. et cum verbis esset affabilis, re erat

¹ praecessit P.

² Eclectus Peter; eiectus P.

¹ Consisting mostly of the *liberti Augusti*, or imperial freed-
 men. They hated Pertinax because he had compelled them
 to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth; see c. viii. 1; xiii. 9;
 Dio, lxxiii. 8, 1.

² i.e. a son and a daughter; see c. xiii. 7 and Dio, lxxiii. 7,
 3. Dio relates that Pertinax, after becoming emperor, trans-
 ferred his property to them and bade them take up their

In fact, the palace-attendants¹ hated Pertinax with so bitter a hatred that they even urged on the soldiers to do the deed. The troops arrived just as Pertinax was inspecting the court-slaves, and, passing through the portico of the Palace, they advanced as far as the spot called Sicilia and the Banqueting-Hall of Jupiter. As soon as he learned of their approach, Pertinax sent Laetus, the prefect of the guard, to meet them; but he, avoiding the soldiers, passed out through the portico and betook himself home with his face hidden from sight. After they had burst into the inner portion of the Palace, however, Pertinax advanced to meet them and sought to appease them with a long and serious speech. In spite of this, one Tausius, a Tungrian, after haranguing the soldiers into a state of fury and fear, hurled his spear at Pertinax' breast. And he, after a prayer to Jupiter the Avenger, veiled his head with his toga and was stabbed by the rest. Eclectus also, after stabbing two of his assailants, died with him, and the other court-chamberlains (his own chamberlains, as soon as he had been made emperor, Pertinax had given to his emancipated children²) fled away in all directions. Many, it is true, say that the soldiers even burst into his bedroom, and there, standing about his bed, slew him as he tried to flee.

XII. He was a stately old man, with a long beard and hair brushed back. His figure was somewhat corpulent, with somewhat prominent abdomen, but his bearing was regal. He was a man of mediocre ability in speaking, and suave rather than kindly, nor was he ever considered ingenuous. Though friendly

residence with their grandfather (see also c. xiii. 4). They were accordingly regarded as freed from the *patria potestas*, and so are described as *emancipati*.

PERTINAX

inliberalis¹ ac prope sordidus, ut dimidiatas lactucas
 3 et cardus in privata vita conviviis adponerat. et nisi
 quid missum esset edulium, quotquot essent amici,
 4 novem libras carnis per tres missus ponebat. si autem
 plus aliquid missum esset, etiam in alium diem differ-
 5 ebat, cum semper ad convivium multos vocaret, im-
 perator etiam, si sine convivis esset, eadem consuetu-
 6 dine cenitabat. amicis si quando de prandio suo
 mittere voluit, misit offulas binas aut omasi² partem,
 aliquando lumbos gallinaceos, phasianum numquam
 7 privato convivio comedit aut³ alicui misit. cum sine
 amicis cenaret, adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum,
 qui cum eodem docuerat, ut⁴ fabulas litteratas⁵ haberet.
 8 Sane nullum ex iis quos Commodus rebus gerendis
 imposuerat mutavit, expectans urbis natalem, quod
 eum diem rerum principium volebat esse, atque ideo
 etiam in balneis ei Commodiani ministri necem parasse

XIII. dicuntur. imperium et omnia imperialia sic horruit,
 ut sibi semper ostenderet displicere. denique non
 2 alium se, quam fuerat, videri volebat. fuit in curia
 honorificentissimus, ita ut senatum faventem adoraret
 et quasi praefectus urbi cum omnibus sermonem

¹ inliberalis Jordan; inliberabilis P. ² pomasi P.
³ cumeditavit P. ⁴ ut om. in P. ⁵ litteratus P.

¹ Cf. c. viii. 9-11. So also Dio, lxxiii. 3, 4.

² Regarded as great dainties, and used by wise and frugal emperors only on occasions of especial importance; see *Alex.* xxxvii. 6 and *Tac.*, xi. 5. For the converse see *Hel.*, xxxii. 4.

³ Cf. c. i. 4.

⁴ The Parilia, celebrated on the 21st April; for the rites that were performed see Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 721 f.

⁵ Cf. c. xv. 8.

⁶ The favourable impression made by Pertinax on the senate

enough in speech, when it came to deeds, he was ungenerous and almost mean—so mean, in fact, that before he was made emperor he used to serve at his banquets lettuce and the edible thistle in half portions. And unless someone made him a present of food, he would serve nine pounds of meat in three courses, no matter how many friends were present; if anyone presented him with an additional amount, moreover, he would put off using it until the next day, and would then invite a great number of guests. Even after he had become emperor, if he had no guests he would dine in the same style.¹ And whenever he in turn wished to send his friends something from his table, he would send a few scraps or a piece of tripe, or occasionally the legs of a fowl. But he never ate pheasants² at his own banquets or sent them to others. And when he dined without guests, he would invite his wife and Valerianus, who had been a teacher together with him,³ in order that he might have literary conversation.

He removed none of those whom Commodus had put in charge of affairs, preferring to wait until the anniversary of the founding of the city,⁴ which he wished to make the official beginning of his reign; and thus it came about, it is said, that the servants of Commodus plotted to slay him in his bath. XIII. The imperial power and all the appurtenances thereof he abhorred,⁵ and he always made it quite evident that they were distasteful to him. In short, he did not wish to seem other than he really was. In the senate-house he was most punctilious,⁶ doing reverence to the senate when it expressed its good will and con-

is reflected all through the narrative of Dio (himself a senator at the time), but particularly in lxxiii. 3, 4.

PERTINAX

3 participaret. voluit etiam imperium deponere atque
4 ad privatam vitam redire. filios suos in Palatio nutrir
noluit.¹

Tam parcus autem et tam lucri cupidus fuit, ut
apud Vada Sabatia mercaturas exercuerit imperator
per homines suos, non aliter quam privatus solebat.
5 nec multum tamen amatus est; si quidem omnes qui
libere fabulas conferebant male Pertinacem loque-
bantur, christologum eum appellantes, qui bene
6 loqueretur et male faceret. nam et cives sui, qui ad
eum confluerant iam imperatorem et nihil de eo
meruerant, sic eum appellabant. munera quoque
lucri libidine libenter acceperat.

7 Reliquit filium et filiam superstites et² uxorem,
Flavii Sulpiciani filiam, quem praefectum urbi loco
8 suo fecerat. circa uxoris pudicitiam minus curiosus
fuit, cum palam citharoedum illa diligeret. ipse prae-
9 terea Cornificiam infamissime dicitur dilexisse. libertos
aulicos vehementissime compressit, unde grande quo-
que odium contraxit.

XIV. Signa interitus haec fuerunt: ipse ante tri-
duum quam occideretur in piscina sibi visus est videre
2 hominem cum gladio infestantem. et ea die qua occisus

¹ noluit P.

² ///ut P.

¹ See note to c. xi. 12.

² Cf. c. ix. 4.

³ A rendering of the Greek *χρηστολόγος*, which, according to Victor, *Epitome*, 18, 4, was applied to Pertinax because he was *blandus magis quam beneficus*.

⁴ See note to c. xi. 12.

⁵ Flavia Titiana; see c. v. 4.

⁶ See *Did. Jul.*, ii. 4 f.

versing with all the senators as though still prefect of the city. He even wished to resign the throne and retire to private life, and was unwilling to have his children reared in the Palace.¹

On the other hand, he was so stingy and eager for money that even after he became emperor he carried on a business at Vada Sabatia² through agents, just as he had done as a private citizen. And despite his efforts, he was not greatly beloved; certainly, all who talked freely together spoke ill of Pertinax, calling him the smooth-tongued,³ that is, a man who speaks affably and acts meanly. In truth, his fellow-townsmen, who had flocked to him after his accession, and had obtained nothing from him, gave him this name. In his lust for gain, he accepted presents with eagerness.

He was survived by a son and a daughter,⁴ and by his wife,⁵ the daughter of the Flavius Sulpicianus⁶ whom he made prefect of the city in his own place. He was not in the least concerned about his wife's fidelity, even though she carried on an amour quite openly with a man who sang to the lyre. He himself, it is said, caused great scandal by an amour with Cornificia.⁷ The freedmen attached to the court he kept within bounds with a strong hand, and in this way also he brought upon himself a bitter hatred.⁸

XIV. The warnings of his death were these: three days before he was killed he himself, on looking into a pool, seemed to behold a man attacking him with a sword. And on the day he was killed, they say, the pupils of his eyes, as well as the little pictures

⁷ Probably the daughter of Marcus; see note to *Com.*, xvii. 12.

⁸ See c. xi. 5 and note.

PERTINAX

est negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus,
 3 quas reddunt, spectantibus visas. et cum apud Lares
 sacrificaret, carbones vivacissimi exincti sunt, cum
 inflammari soleant. et, ut supra dictum est, cor et
 caput in hostiis non est repertum. stellae etiam
 iuxta solem per diem visae ¹ clarissimae ante diem ²
 4 quam obiret. et ipse omen de Iuliano successore
 dedisse dicitur. nam cum ei Didius Iulianus fratris
 filium obtulisset, cui despondebat filiam suam, adhor-
 tatus est iuvenem ad patris observationem et ³ adiecit:
 "Observa collegam et successorem meum".
 5 nam ante Iulianus ei et in consulatu collega fuerat et
 in proconsulatu successerat.
 6 Milites eum et aulici odio habuerunt, populus mor-
 tem eius indignissime tulit, quia videbat omnia per
 7 eum antiqua posse restitui. caput eius conto fixum
 milites qui eum occiderant per urbem in castra per-
 8 tulerunt. reliquiae eius recuperato capite in sepul-
 9 chro avi uxoris locatae sunt. et Iulianus, successor
 illius, corpus eius quanto potuit honore funeratus est,
 10 cum id in Palatio repperisset. qui numquam eius
 ullam mentionem vel apud populum vel apud sena-
 tum publice fecit, sed cum ipse quoque a militibus
 desertus iam esset, per senatum et populum Pertinax
 XV. in deos relatos est. sub Severo autem imperatore
 cum senatus ingens testimonium habuisset Pertinax,

¹ *visae* P; *visae sunt* Peter.
² *et* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

² *diem* Casaubon; *dies* P.

¹ c. xi. 2.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

³ In Africa; see c. iv. 1 and *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

⁴ Cf. c. x. 10 and xi. 5.

⁵ See *Sev.*, vii. 8, and the coins with *Divus Pertinax* and *Consecratio*, Cohen, iii², p. 390 f., nos. 6-12. The elaborate

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which they reflect, were invisible to those who looked into them. And when he was performing sacrifices to the Lares the living coals died out, though they are wont to flame up. Furthermore, as we related above,¹ the heart and upper portion of the liver could not be found in the victims. And on the day before he died, stars of great brilliancy were seen near the sun in the day-time. He was responsible himself, it is said, for an omen about his successor, Julianus. For when Didius Julianus presented a nephew of his, to whom he was betrothing his daughter, the Emperor exhorted the young man to show deference to his uncle, and added: "Honour my colleague and successor."² For Julianus had previously been his colleague in the consulship and had succeeded him ca. 175 in his proconsular command.³

The soldiers and court-retainers regarded him with hatred,⁴ but the people felt great indignation at his death, since it had seemed that all the ancient customs might be restored through his efforts. His head, fixed on a pole, was carried through the city to the camp by the soldiers who killed him. His remains, including his head, which was recovered, were laid in the tomb of his wife's grandfather. And Julianus, his successor, buried his body with all honour, after he had found it in the Palace. At no time, however, did he make any public mention of Pertinax either before the people or in the presence of the senate, but when he, too, was deserted by the soldiers Pertinax was raised to the rank of the gods by the senate and the people.⁵ XV. In the reign of Severus, moreover, after Pertinax had received the full official approval

funeral-ceremonies are described in detail by Dio, an eye-witness; see lxxiv. 4-5.

PERTINAX

funus imaginarium ei et censorium ductum est, et ab ipso Severo funebri laudatione ornatus est. ipse autem Severus amore boni principis a senatu Pertinacis nomen accepit. filius Pertinacis patri flamen est factus. Marciani sodales, qui divi Marci sacra curabant, Helviani sunt dicti propter Helvium Pertinacem. circenses et imperii natalis additi, qui a Severo postea sublatis sunt, et geniticii, qui¹ manent.

6 Natus autem kal. Augustis Vero et Ambibulo² consulibus. interfectus est V kal. Apr. Falcone et Claro consulibus. vixit annis LX mensibus VII diebus

7 XXVI. imperavit mensibus II diebus XXV. congiarium dedit populo denarios centenos. praetorianis promisit duodena milia nummum sed dedit sena. quod exercitibus promissum est datum non est, quia mors eum praevenit. horruisse autem illum imperium epistula docet, quae vitae illius a Mario Maximo apposita est. quam ego inserere³ ob nimiam longitudinem nolui.

¹ *geniticii qui* Casaubon; *geniti aliqui* P. ² *Bibulo* P.
³ *inserere* Puteanus; *inseri* P.

¹ See note to *Sev.*, vii. 8.

² See *Sev.*, vii. 9 and note.

³ See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4.

⁴ They are listed in the Calendar of Philocalus of 354 A.D.; see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 270. On the custom of celebrating an emperor's birthday by races in the circus see note to *Hadr.*, viii. 2.

PERTINAX XV. 2-8

of the senate, an honorary funeral, of the kind that would be accorded to a censor, was held for him,¹ and Severus himself honoured him with a funeral eulogy. Severus, furthermore, out of respect for so good a ruler, accepted from the senate the name Pertinax.² Pertinax' son was made his father's priest, and the Marcian brotherhood,³ who performed the sacrifices to the Deified Marcus, were called Helviani in honour of Helvius Pertinax. There were added, also, circus-games and a celebration to commemorate the anniversary of his accession, but these were afterwards abolished by Severus. The birthday-games decreed for him, however, are still observed.⁴

He was born on the Kalends of August in the^{1 Aug.,} consulship of Verus and Ambibulus, and was killed¹²⁶ on the fifth day before the Kalends of April in the^{26 Mar.,} consulship of Falco and Clarus. He lived sixty¹⁹³ years,⁵ seven months and twenty-six days, and reigned for two months and twenty-five days. He gave the people a largess of one hundred denarii apiece,⁶ and promised twelve thousand sesterces to each soldier of the guard, though he gave only six thousand.⁷ The sum promised to the armies he did not give for the reason that death forestalled him. A letter which Marius Maximus included in his life of Pertinax shows that he shrank from taking the imperial power,⁸ but this letter, on account of its great length, I have not thought best to insert.

⁵ More correctly, sixty-six.

⁷ See note to c. iv. 6. *

⁶ See note to c. vii. 11.

⁸ Cf. c. xiii. 1.

DIDIUS IULIANUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Didio Iuliano, qui post Pertinacem imperium adeptus est, proavus fuit Salvius ¹ Iulianus, bis consul, praefectus urbi et iuris consultus, quod magis eum
2 nobilem fecit, mater Clara Aemilia, pater Petronius Didius Severus, fratres Didius Proculus et Nummius Albinus, avunculus Salvius Iulianus. avus paternus Insubris Mediolanensis, maternus ex Hadrumetina colonia.

3 Educatus est apud Domitiam Lucillam, matrem
4 Marci imperatoris. inter viginti viros lectus est suffragio matris Marci. quaestor ante annum quam
5 legitima aetas sinebat designatus est. aedilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. praetor eiusdem
6 suffragio fuit. post praeturam legioni praefuit in

¹ *albius P.*

¹ See *Hadr.*, xviii. 1 and note. It is improbable that Didius was related to Salvius Julianus, for his family came from Milan, and since an inscription which connected Salvius with this city has been shown to be a forgery, there is no reason for supposing that he was a native of Milan. At any rate, Salvius, who was born toward the end of the first century, was not the great-grandfather of Didius, who was born not later than 137 (see c. ix. 3 and note).

² See *Marc.*, i. 3.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. Didius Julianus, who gained possession of the empire after Pertinax, was the great-grandson of Salvius Julianus,¹ a man who was twice consul, prefect of the city, and an authority in jurisprudence—which, more than anything else, had made him famous. His mother was Aemilia Clara, his father Petronius Didius Severus, his brothers Didius Proculus and Nummius Albinus; another Salvius Julianus was his uncle. His father's father was an Insubrian from Milan, his mother's came from the colony of Hadrumetum.

He himself was reared at the home of Domitia Lucilla,² the mother of the Emperor Marcus, and through the support of this lady he was elected to the Board of Twenty.³ He was appointed quaestor a year before he reached the legal age,⁴ and through the support of Marcus he attained to the office of aedile. Again with the support of Marcus he became praetor.⁵ After his praetorship he commanded the

¹ According to an inscription found at Rome (*C.I.L.*, vi. 1401 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 412) he was *decemvir litibus iudicandis*, on which see note to *Hadr.*, ii. 2.

² See note to *Pius*, vi. 10.

³ A rescript addressed to him by Marcus is mentioned in *Digesta*, xxviii. 1, 20, 9.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

fecto cum Sulpicianus imperator in castris appellari
 vellet, et Iulianus cum genero ad senatum venisset,
 quem indictum acceperat, cumque clausas valvas in-
 5 venisset atque illic duos tribunos repperisset, Publium¹
 Florianum et Vectium² Aprum, coeperunt cohortari
 tribuni, ut locum arriperet. quibus cum³ diceret iam
 alium imperatorem appellatum, retinentes eum ad
 6 praetoria castra duxerunt. sed posteaquam in castra
 ventum est, cum⁴ Sulpiciano praefecto urbi, socero
 . Pertinacis, contionante sibi imperium vindicante
 Iulianum e muro ingentia pollicentem nullus ad-
 mitteret, primum Iulianus monuit praetorianos, ne
 eum facerent imperatorem, qui Pertinacem vindi-
 caret; deinde scripsit in tabulis se Commodi memo-
 7 riam restitutum. atque ita est admissus et⁵ im-
 perator appellatus, rogantibus praetorianis ne
 Sulpiciano aliquid noceret, quod imperator esse
 voluisset.

III. Tunc Iulianus Flavium Genialem et Tullium
 Crispinum suffragio praetorianorum praefectos praetorii
 fecit stipatusque est caterva imperatoria per Mauren-
 2 tium, qui et ante Sulpiciano coniunxerat. sane cum
 vicena quina milia militibus promississet, tricena dedit.

¹ *publicum* P. ² *uectium* P.; *Vettium* Jordan, Peter.
³ *cum* om. in P¹. ⁴ *cum* om. in P¹. ⁵ *est admissus et*
 Peter; *et admissus est* P.

¹ Cf. *Pert.*, xiii. 7.

² The scene at the camp is described in greater detail by
 Dio (lxxiii. 11), especially the famous auction of the empire
 by the soldiers, in which Sulpicianus and Didius bid against

when Sulpicianus¹ was making plans to be hailed emperor in the camp, Julianus, together with his son-in-law, came to the senate, which, he heard, had been summoned, but found the doors closed. At the same time he discovered there two tribunes, Publius Florianus and Vectius Aper, who immediately began urging him to seize the throne; and though he pointed out to them that another man was already proclaimed emperor, they held him fast and conducted him to the praetorian camp.² When they arrived at the camp, however, Sulpicianus, the prefect of the city and the father-in-law of Pertinax, was holding an assembly and claiming the empire himself, and no one would let Julianus inside, despite the huge promises he made from outside the wall. Julianus then first warned the soldiers not to proclaim anyone emperor who would avenge Pertinax, and next wrote on placards that he would restore the good name³ of Commodus; so he was admitted and proclaimed emperor, the soldiers at the same time requesting that he would not in any way injure Sulpicianus for aiming at the throne.

III. Immediately thereafter, on the recommendation of the praetorians themselves, Julianus appointed Flavius Genialis and Tullius Crispinus prefects of the guard, and through the efforts of Maurentius, who had previously declared for Sulpicianus, he was attended by the imperial body-guard. Although he had promised five and twenty thousand sesterces to

each other. Dio's account, however, must be used with caution, for his whole narrative shows a decided animus against Didius.

³ *i.e.* restore it to the public records and monuments; see *Com.*, xvii. 6; xx. 5.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

3 dein¹ habita contione militari vespera in senatum
venit totumque se senatui permisit factoque senatus
consulto imperator est appellatus, et tribuniciam
potestatem ius proconsulare in patricias familias re-
4 latus emeruit. uxor etiam Manlia Scantilla et filia
5 eius Didia Clara Augustae sunt appellatae. inde se
ad Palatium recepit, uxore ac filia illuc vocatis
trepididis inuitisque² transeuntibus, quasi iam imminens
6 exitum praesagirent. praefectum urbi Cornelium
Repentinum, generum suum, fecit in locum Sulpici-
ani.

7 Erat interea in odio populi Didius Iulianus ob hoc,
quod creditum fuerat emendationem temporum Com-
modi Pertinacis auctoritate reparandam, habebaturque
8 ita, quasi Iuliani consilio esset interemptus. et iam
hi primum qui Iulianum odisse coeperant dissemina-
runt prima statim die Pertinacis cena despecta
luxuriosum parasse convivium ostreis et altilibus et
piscibus adornatum. quod falsum fuisse constat.
9 nam Iulianus tantae parsimoniae fuisse perhibetur,

¹ dein Peter; in P¹.

² inuitisque Peter¹; inuitis eo P;
+ inuitis eo Peter².

¹ Marcus and Verus had given twenty thousand (*Marc.*, vii. 9), Pertinax twelve thousand (*Pert.*, xv. 7). According to Herodian (ii. 7, 1) Didius did not pay what he had promised, because the money was not available.

² His appearance before the senate is more fully described by Dio, who was present; see lxxiii. 12. Dio's account is much less favourable to Didius than the account given here, which seems to aim at representing him as the choice of the senate.

³ The emperors of the Julio-Claudian house had been patricians, and hence it was considered necessary for the emperor to have this rank. Accordingly, when a plebeian was elected

DIDIUS JULIANUS III. 3-9

each soldier, he gave thirty.¹ Then, after holding an assembly of the soldiers, he came in the evening to the senate,² and entrusted himself to it without conditions; thereupon, by decree of the senate he was acclaimed emperor and, after being raised to a place among the patrician families,³ he received the tribunician power and the rights of a proconsul.⁴ His wife Manlia Scantilla, moreover, and his daughter, Didia Clara, were given the name *Augusta*;⁵ and thereupon he betook himself to the Palace and thither summoned his wife and daughter, who came, though with considerable trepidation and reluctance as if they already foresaw impending doom.⁶ Cornelius Repentinus, his son-in-law, he made prefect of the city in place of Sulpicianus.

The people, meanwhile, detested Julianus because it had been their belief that the abuses of Commodus' régime were to be reformed by the influence of Pertinax, and he was considered to have been killed with Julianus' connivance. And now, those who had begun to hate Julianus were the first to spread it abroad that on the very first day of his reign, to show his contempt for Pertinax' board, he had served an extravagant banquet embellished with such dainties as oysters and fatted birds and fish. This story, it is generally agreed, was false.⁷ For according to report, Julianus was so frugal as to make

as was the case from Vespasian onward, with the sole exception of Nerva), the senate raised him to the patriciate.

¹ See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

² *Augusta* appears on the coins of both; see Cohen, iii², p. 101 f.

³ According to Herodian (ii. 6, 7) it was the two women who persuaded Didius to bid for the throne.

⁴ Dio, however, asserts it as a fact; see lxxiii. 13. 1.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

ut per triduum porcellum, per triduum leporem divideret, si quis ei¹ forte misisset, saepe autem nulla existente religione holeribus leguminibusque
 10 contentus sine carne cenaverit. deinde neque cenavit priusquam sepultus esset Pertinax, et tristissimus cibum ob eius necem sumpsit et primam noctem vîgiliis continuavit, de tanta necessitate sollicitus.

IV. Ubi vero primum inluxit, senatum et equestrem ordinem in Palatium venientem admisit atque unumquemque, ut erat aetas, vel fratrem² vel filium vel
 2 parentem adfatus blandissime est. sed populus in Rostris atque ante curiam ingentibus eum conviciis lacescebat, sperans deponi ab eo posse imperium quod
 3 milites³ dederant. lapidationem quoque fecere. descendenti cum militibus et senatu in curiam diras imprecati sunt, rem divinam facienti ne litaret⁴
 4 optarunt. lapides etiam in eum iecerunt, cum Iulius
 5 anus manu eos semper placare cuperet. ingressus autem curiam, placide et prudenter verba fecit. egit gratias, quod esset adscitus, quod et ipse et uxor et filia eius Augustorum nomen acceperunt. patris patriae quoque nomen recepit, argenteam statuam
 6 respuuit. e senatu in Capitolium pergenti populus obstitit, sed ferro et vulneribus et pollicitationibus

¹ et P. ² fratrem Peter²; patrem P. ³ milites P.
⁴ ne litaret Edit. princeps; elitaret P.

¹On the other hand, Herodian (ii. 7, 1) emphasizes his luxury and extravagance.

²A similar description of what happened in front of the

a suckling pig or a hare last for three days, if anyone by chance presented him with one ; and often, moreover, even when there was no religious reason therefor, he was content to dine on cabbages and beans without meat.¹ Furthermore, he gave no banquet until after Pertinax was buried, and, because of his death, took what food he did in a very depressed state of mind, and passed the first night in continual wakefulness, disquieted by such a fate.

IV. But when the day dawned, he admitted the senators and knights who came to the Palace, and greeted each very cordially, either as brother, or son, or father, according to his age. The populace, however, at the Rostra and in front of the senate-house,² assailed him with violent revilings, hoping that he might resign the sovereignty which the soldiers had given him ; and they even launched a shower of stones. As he came down to the senate-house with the soldiers and senate, they heaped curses upon him, and when he performed the sacrifices, wished that he might not obtain favourable omens ; they even hurled stones at him, though Julianus, with uplifted hand, continually sought to calm them. When he entered the senate-house, he spoke calmly and discreetly, and returned thanks because he had been chosen, and because he, his wife, and his daughter, had been given the titles of Augustus and Augusta. He accepted also the name of Father of his Country, but refused a silver statue. Then, as he proceeded from the senate-house to the Capitol, the populace placed themselves in his way, but by the sword, by wounds, and by promises of gold-pieces, the number of which

senate-house and in the Circus is given in Dio, lxxiii. 13, 3-5.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

aureorum, quos¹ digitis ostendebat ipse Iulianus ut
 7 fidem faceret, summotus atque depulsus est. inde
 ad circense spectaculum itum est. sed occupatis
 indifferenter omnium subselliis populus geminavit
 convicia in Iulianum; Pescennium Nigrum, qui iam
 imperare dicebatur, ad urbis praesidium vocavit.
 8 haec omnia Iulianus placide tulit totoque imperii sui
 tempore mitissimus fuit. populus autem in milites
 vehementissime invehebatur, qui ob pecuniam Pertinacem occidissent. multa igitur quae Commodus
 statuerat, Pertinax tulerat, ad conciliandum favorem
 9 populi restituit. de ipso Pertinace neque male neque
 bene quicquam egit, quod gravissimum plurimis visum
 10 est. constitit autem propter metum militum de
 honore Pertinacis tacitum esse.²

V. Et Iulianus quidem neque Britannicos exercitus
 neque Illyricos timebat, Nigrum vero misso primipilario occidi praeceperat, timens praecipue Syriacos
 2 exercitus. ergo Pescennius Niger in Syria, Septimius
 Severus in Illyrico³ cum exercitibus quibus praeside-
 3 bant a Iuliano descivere. sed cum ei nuntiatum esset
 Severum descivisse, quem suspectum non habuerat,
 perturbatus est et⁴ ad senatum venit impetravitque⁵
 4 ut hostis Severus renuntiaretur; militibus etiam qui

¹ quod P.

² est P.

³ niger in illyrico s. severus in

syria P.

⁴ et om. in P.

⁵ impetravitque P (Dessau);

imperavitque Peter.

¹ The populace took the seats that were reserved for senators and knights.

² Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 1.

³ Except to give his body honourable burial; see c. iii. 10 and *Pert.*, xiv. 9.

⁴ Under the command of Clodius Albinus.

⁵ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 4.

he himself, in order to inspire trust, kept showing to them on his fingers, they were dispersed and beaten back. Thereupon, all went to the games at the Circus; but here, after everyone had seized seats indiscriminately,¹ the populace redoubled their insults against Julianus and called for Pescennius Niger (who was said to have already declared himself emperor) to protect the city.² All this Julianus took with perfect equanimity; indeed all through the time he was on the throne he was exceedingly tolerant. The populace, however, kept inveighing with the utmost violence against the soldiers, who had slain Pertinax, so they said, for money. And so, in order to win favour with the people, Julianus restored many measures which Commodus had enacted and Pertinax had repealed. Concerning Pertinax himself he took no steps either good or evil,³ a fact which to very many seemed a serious matter. It is generally agreed, however, that it was his fear of the soldiers that caused him to keep silent about the honours due Pertinax.

V. As a matter of fact, however, Julianus had no fear of either the British⁴ or the Illyrian army; but being chiefly afraid of the Syrian army, he despatched a centurion of the first rank with orders to murder Niger.⁵ Consequently Pescennius Niger in Syria⁶ and Septimius Severus in Illyricum,⁷ together with the armies which they commanded, revolted from Julianus. But when he received the news of the revolt of Severus, whom he had not suspected, then he was greatly troubled and came to the senate and prevailed upon them to declare Severus a public enemy. As for the soldiers who had followed Severus,

⁶ See *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 1.

⁷ See *Sev.*, v. 1.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

Severum secuti fuerant dies praestitutus, ultra quam, si cum Severo fuissent, hostium numero haberentur. 5 missi sunt praeterea legati a senatu consulares ad milites, qui suaderent ut Severus repudiaretur, et is 6 esset imperator quem senatus elegerat. inter ceteros legatus est Vespronius Candidus, vetus consularis, olim militibus invisus ob durum et sordidum imperium. 7 missus est successor Severo Valerius Catulinus, quasi posset ei succedi, qui militem iam sibi 8 tenebat. missus praeterea Aquilius centurio, notus 9 caedibus senatoriis, qui Severum occideret. ipse autem Iulianus praetorianos in campum deduci iubet, muniri turres, sed milites desides et urbana luxuria dissolutos invitissimos ad exercitum militare produxit, ita ut vicarios operis, quod unicuique praescribatur, mercede conducerent.

VI. Et Severus quidem ad urbem infesto agmine veniebat, sed Didius Iulianus nihil cum exercitu praetoriano proficiebat, quem cotidie populus et magis 2 oderat et ridebat. et Iulianus sperans Laetum fautorem Severi, cum per eum Commodi manus evasisset ingratus tanto beneficio iussit eum occidi. iussit etiam Marciam una¹ interfici.

¹ *Marciam una* Mommsen; *marci manum* P.

¹ He had been governor of Dacia under Commodus; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 1092.

² Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 5.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 6.

⁴ A picture of the confusion in Rome is given in Dio, lxxiii. 16.

⁵ According to Dio (lxxiii. 16, 5) he executed Laetus, Marcia and the athlete Narcissus in order to punish those guilty of the murder of Commodus.

a day was appointed for them after which they would be considered as public enemies if they were still with Severus. Besides this, legates of consular rank were sent by the senate to the soldiers to persuade them that they should reject Severus and let him be emperor whom the senate had chosen. Among others of the legates was Vespronius Candidus,¹ an old man of consular rank, now for a long time repugnant to the soldiers because of his harsh and penurious rule. Valerius Catullinus was sent as Severus' successor,² as if, in sooth, it were possible to appoint a successor to a man who already had an army devoted to himself. And in addition to these others, the centurion Aquilius, notorious as the assassin of senators, was sent for the purpose of murdering Severus.³ But as for Julianus himself, he gave orders that the praetorians should be led outside the city, and that the fortifications should be manned;⁴ but it was a slothful force that he led out, and one demoralized by the fleshpots of the city and intensely averse to active service, so much so, indeed, that they actually hired substitutes for the duties severally enjoined upon them.

VI. All the while, Severus was approaching the city with a hostile army; but in spite of that, Didius Julianus accomplished nothing with his praetorian troops, and the populace hated and laughed at him more and more every day. And although he had escaped from Commodus' clutches by the aid of Laetus, nevertheless, unmindful of this great favour, Julianus ordered Laetus to be put to death in the expectation that he would side with Severus.⁵ He gave orders likewise that Marcia should be put to death at the same time.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

- 3 Sed dum haec egit Iulianus, Severus classem
 Ravennatem occupat, legati senatus, qui Iuliano
 promiserant operam suam, ad Severum transierunt.
 4 Tullius Crispinus, praefectus praetorio, contra Severum
 missus ut classem produceret, repulsus Romam rediit.
 5 haec cum Iulianus videret, senatum rogavit ut
 virgines Vestales et ceteri sacerdotes cum senatu
 obviam exercitui Severi prodirent et praetentis infulis
 rogarent, inanem rem ¹ contra barbaros milites parans.
 6 haec tamen agenti Iuliano Plautius ² Quintillus con-
 sularis augur contradixit, adserens non debere imperare
 7 eum qui armis adversario non posset resistere. cui
 multi senatores consenserunt. quare iratus Didius
 milites e castris petiit, qui senatum ad obsequium
 8 cogerent aut obtruncarent. sed id consilium dis-
 plicuit. neque enim decebat, ut, cum senatus hostem
 Severum Iuliani causa iudicasset, eundem Iulianum
 9 pateretur infestum. quare meliore consilio ad sena-
 tum venit petiitque, ut fieret senatus consultum de
 participatione imperii. quod statim factum est.

VII. Tunc omen quod sibi Iulianus, cum imperium
 2 acciperet, fecerat omnibus venit in mentem. nam
 cum consul designatus de eo sententiam dicens ita pro-

¹ *rem* ins. by Peter; om. in P. ² *Plautius* Peter; *phaus-*
tius P.

¹ The station of the Adriatic fleet; the headquarters of the
 fleet that guarded the western coast were at Misenum, on the
 Bay of Naples.

² *Cf. Sev.*, v. 6.

³ His troops deserted to Severus; see c. viii. 4 and Dio,
 lxxiii. 17, 1.

DIDIUS JULIANUS VI. 3—VII. 2

While Julianus was engaged in these activities, however, Severus seized the fleet stationed at Ravenna;¹ whereupon the envoys of the senate who had promised their services to Julianus passed over to Severus.² Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, who had been sent to oppose Severus and lead out the fleet, failed in his attempt³ and therefore returned to Rome. When Julianus learned of these events, he came to the senate with a proposal that the Vestal Virgins and the priests, along with the senate itself, should go out to meet Severus' troops and entreat them with fillets held in outstretched hands⁴—a futile step, surely, to take against soldiers of barbarian blood. In this proposal, however, Plautius Quintillus, an augur and man of consular rank,⁵ opposed him, declaring that he who could not withstand an opponent by force of arms had no right to rule; in this objection many senators agreed with him. Infuriated at this, Didius Julianus called for soldiers from the camp in order either to force the senators to obedience or to slaughter them. But this plan found no favour. For it was scarcely fitting that the senate, after declaring Severus a public enemy for Julianus' sake, should find an enemy in this same Julianus. And so Julianus came to the senate with a better plan, and asked it to pass a decree effecting a division of empire.⁶ And this was forthwith done.

VII. At that time an omen, for which Julianus himself had been responsible when he accepted the imperial power, came to everyone's mind. For when the consul-elect, in voting on Julianus, delivered

¹ The conventional attitude of suppliants.

⁵ He was consul in 177.

⁶ Cf. *Sev.*, v. 7.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

nuntiasset: "Didium Iulianum imperatorem appellandum esse censeo," Iulianus suggessit "Adde et Severum," quod cognomentum avi¹ et proavi sibi
 3 Iulianus adsciverat. sunt tamen qui dicant nullum fuisse Iuliani consilium de obtruncando senatu, cum tanta in eum senatus consuluisse.²
 4 Post senatus consultum statim Didius Iulianus
 5 unum ex praefectis, Tullium Crispinum, misit. ipse autem tertium fecit praefectum Veturium Macrinum, ad quem Severus litteras miserat, ut esset praefectus.
 6 sed pacem simulatam esse mandatamque³ caedem Severi Tullio Crispino, praefecto praetorii, et populus
 7 locutus est et Severus suspicatus. denique hostem se Iuliano Severus esse maluit quam participem consensu militum. Severus autem statim et ad plurimos
 8 Romam scripsit et occulto misit edicta, quae proposita
 9 sunt. fuit praeterea in Iuliano haec amentia, ut per magos pleraque faceret, quibus putaret⁴ vel odium
 10 populi deleniri vel militum arma compesci. nam et quasdam non convenientes Romanis sacris hostias immolaverunt et carmina profana incantaverunt, et ea quae ad speculum dicunt⁵ fieri, in quo pueri praeligatis oculis incantato vertice respicere dicuntur,
 11 Iulianus fecit. tuncque puer vidisse dicitur et adventum Severi et Iuliani decessionem.

¹ habui P. ² consuluisse P; contulisset Peter. ³ mandatamque Ursinus; tantamque P. ⁴ putaret Egnatius; uideret P. ⁵ ducunt P.

¹ This name appears in the inscription cited above (see note to c. i. 4) and on some of his coins; see Cohen iii², p. 398 f., nos., 1, 3, 7, etc.

² i.e. to Severus, offering him a share of the empire.

³ See note to *Hadr.*, ix. 5.

DIDIUS JULIANUS VII. 3-11

himself of the following: "I vote that Didius Julianus be declared emperor," Julianus prompted "Say also Severus," the name of his grandfather and great-grandfather, which he had added to his own.¹ However, there are some who say that Julianus never planned to slaughter the senate, because it had passed so many decrees in his favour.

After the senate had passed this decree, Didius Julianus forthwith despatched² one of the prefects, Tullius Crispinus, and he also created a third prefect³ in the person of Veturius Macrinus, whom Severus had already notified by letter that he was to be prefect. Nevertheless, the people avowed and Severus suspected that this peace was merely a strategem and that Tullius Crispinus, the prefect of the guard, was commissioned to murder Severus. Finally, in accordance with the general wish of his soldiers, Severus declared that he would rather be Julianus' enemy than colleague; he at once, moreover, wrote to a great number of men at Rome, and secretly sent proclamations, which were posted up. Julianus, furthermore, was mad enough to perform a number of rites with the aid of magicians, such as were calculated either to lessen the hate of the people or to restrain the arms of the soldiers. For the magicians sacrificed certain victims that are foreign to the Roman ritual⁴ and chanted unholy songs, while Julianus performed rites, which took place, so we are told, before a mirror, into which boys are said to gaze, after bandages have been bound over their eyes and charms muttered over their heads. And in this performance one lad, it is said, saw the arrival of Severus and the retirement of Julianus.

⁴ According to Dio, lxxiii. 16, 5, he sacrificed a number of children.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

- VIII. Et Crispinus quidem, cum occurrisset praecur-
 soribus Severi, Iulio Laeto auctore a Severo interemp-
 2 tus est. deiecta sunt etiam consulta senatus. Iulianus
 convocato senatu quaesitisque sententiis, quid facto
 3 opus esset, certi nihil comperit a senatu. sed postea
 sponte sua gladiatores Capuae iussit armari per Lolli-
 anum Titianum, et Claudium Pompeianum e Tarraci-
 nensi ad participatum evocavit, quod et gener impera-
 toris fuisset et diu militibus praefuisset. sed hoc ille
 recusavit, senem se et debilem luminibus respondens.
 4, 5 transierant et ex Umbria milites ad Severum, et
 praemiserat quidem litteras Severus, quibus iubebat
 interfectores Pertinacis servari.
 6 Brevi autem desertus est ab omnibus Iulianus et
 remansit in Palatio cum uno de praefectis suis Geniali
 7 et genero Repentino. actum est denique ut Iuliano
 senatus auctoritate abrogaretur imperium. et abroga-
 tum est, appellatusque statim Severus imperator, cum
 fingeretur quod veneno se¹ absumpsisset Iulianus.
 8 missi tamen a senatu, quorum cura per militem
 gregarium in Palatio idem Iulianus occisus est fidem
 9 Caesaris implorans, hoc est Severi. filiam suam
 potitus imperio dato patrimonio emancipaverat.

¹ *se* P; om. by Peter.

¹ See c. vii. 4.

² He was very old and in poor health. During the reign of Pertinax he remained at Rome and attended meetings of the senate, but when Pertinax was killed, he withdrew to his country estate; see Dio, lxxiii. 3.

³ See c. vi. 4 and note.

⁴ Acting on this order the soldiers of the guard seized the murderers and informed the consul of the fact; see Dio, lxxiii. 17, 3.

⁵ Cf. c. iii. 6.

DIDIUS JULIANUS VIII. 1-9

VIII. And as for Crispinus,¹ he met with Severus' advance-guard and was put to death by Severus on the advice of Julius Laetus. The decrees of the senate, moreover, were torn down, and when Julianus called a meeting of the senate and asked their opinions as to what should be done, he could get nothing definite out of them. Presently, however, on his own responsibility he ordered Lollianus Titianus to arm the gladiators at Capua, and called Claudius Pompeianus from his estate at Tarracina² to share the empire with him, because he had been an emperor's son-in-law and had long been in command of troops. Claudius, however, refused on the ground that he was now old and his eye-sight was weak. The soldiers in Umbria had meanwhile deserted to Severus,³ and Severus had sent on letters in advance in which he ordered the murderers of Pertinax to be kept under guard.⁴

In a short time Julianus was deserted by all and left alone in the Palace with one of his prefects, Genialis, and with Repentinus, his son-in-law.⁵ Finally, it was proposed that the imperial power be taken away from Julianus by order of the senate.⁶ This was done, and Severus was forthwith acclaimed emperor, while it was given out that Julianus had taken poison. Nevertheless, the senate despatched a delegation and through their efforts Julianus was slain in the Palace by a common soldier, while beseeching the protection of Caesar, that is to say, Severus. He had emancipated⁷ his daughter when he got control of the empire and had presented her with her patrimony, but this, together with the name

⁶ A description of this meeting is given in Dio, lxxiii. 17, 4. See note to *Pert.*, xi. 12.

DIDIUS JULIANUS

quod ei cum Augustae nomine statim sublatum est.
10 corpus eius a Severo uxori Manliae Scantillae ac filiae
ad sepulturam est redditum et in proavi monumenta
translatum miliario quinto Via Labicana.

IX. Obiecta sane sunt Iuliano haec : quod gulosus
fuisset, quod aleator, quod armis gladiatoriiis exer-
citus esset, eaque omnia senex fecerit, cum antea
numquam adulescens his esset vitiis infamatus. obi-
ecta est etiam superbia, cum ille etiam in imperio
2 fuisset humillimus. fuit autem contra humanissimus
ad convivia, benignissimus ad subscriptiones, modera-
tissimus ad libertatem.

3 Vixit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus quattuor.
imperavit mensibus duobus diebus quinque. repre-
hensum in eo praecipue, quod eos, quos regere
auctoritate sua debuerat, regendae rei publicae sibi
praesules ipse fecisset.

¹ This road ran S.E. from the city, joining the *Via Latina* at Toleria. It took its name from the town of Labici, on the northern slope of the Alban hills.

² See c. iii. 9 and note.

³ Sixty years, according to Dio, lxxiii. 17, 5; this figure is

Augusta, was at once taken away from her. His body was, by order of Severus, delivered for burial to his wife, Manlia Scantilla, and to his daughter, and it was laid in the tomb of his great-grandfather by the fifth mile-stone on the Labican Way.¹

IX. These charges were brought against Julianus: that he had been a glutton and a gambler; that he had exercised with gladiatorial arms; and that he had done all these things, moreover, when advanced in years, and after escaping the stain of these vices in his youth. The charge of pride was also brought against him, although he had really been very unassuming as emperor.² He was, moreover, very affable at banquets, very courteous in the matter of petitions, and very reasonable in the matter of granting liberty.

He lived fifty-six years³ and four months. He ruled two months and five days.⁴ This particularly was held to his discredit: that men whom he ought to have kept under his own governance he appointed as his officials for governing the state.

usually regarded as more correct than that given in the biography; accordingly, he was born in 133.

⁴Sixty-six days, according to Dio, *l.c.* Accordingly, he was killed on 1st June, 193.

SEVERUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus
2 imperium obtinuit. cui civitas Lepti, pater Geta,
maiores equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus
datam; mater Fulvia Pia, patrui magni¹ Aper et
Severus consulares, avus paternus Macer, maternus²
3 Fulvius Pius fuere. ipse natus est Erucio Claro bis et
4 Severo consulibus, VI idus Apriles. in prima pueritia,
priusquam Latinis Graecisque litteris imbueretur,
quibus eruditissimus fuit, nullum alium inter pueros
ludum nisi ad iudices exercuit, cum³ ipse praelatis
fascibus ac securibus ordine puerorum circumstante⁴
5 sederet ac iudicaret. octavo decimo anno publice
declamavit.⁵ postea studiorum causa Romam venit,

¹ *magni Aper* Madvig, Peter²; *magnaper* P; *Marcus Aper* Peter¹. ² So Casaubon; *maternus Macer paternus* P, Peter.
³ *eum* Pl. ⁴ *circumstantes* Pl. ⁵ *adclamaui* P.

¹ His full name was P. Septimius Geta, according to an inscription found at Cirta in Africa; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 19493.

² Citizenship was granted to all the inhabitants of the Empire by an edict of Caracalla, Severus' son, in 212.

³ Aper was consul in some year under Pius; Severus is perhaps to be identified with the Severus who was consul in 155.

SEVERUS

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. On the murder of Didius Julianus, Severus, a native of Africa, took possession of the empire. His native city was Leptis, his father was Geta;¹ his ancestors were Roman knights before citizenship was made universal.² Fulvia Pia was his mother, Aper and Severus, both of consular rank,³ his great-uncles. His father's father was Macer, his mother's father Fulvius Pius. He himself was born six days before ^{8 Apr.,} the Ides of April,⁴ in the first consulship of Severus ¹⁴⁶ and the second of Erucius Clarus. While still a child, even before he had been drilled in the Latin and Greek literatures (with which he was very well acquainted), he would engage in no game with the other children except playing judge, and on such occasions he would have the rods and axes borne before him, and, surrounded by the throng of children, he would take his seat and thus give judgments. In his eighteenth year he delivered an oration in public. Soon after, in order to continue his studies, he came to Rome; and with the support of his kins-

⁴ His birthday was the 11th April, according to Dio, lxxvi. 17, 4, and this date is confirmed by the Calendar of Philocalus (see *C.I.L.*, i², p. 262) and by inscriptions set up on this day; see *C.I.L.*, xi. 1322; xiv. 168 and 169.

SEVERUS

latum clavum a divo Marco petiit et accepit, favente sibi Septimio Severo adfini suo, bis iam consulari.

6 Cum Romam venisset, hospitem nactus qui Hadriani vitam imperatoriam eadem hora legeret, 7 quod sibi omen futurae felicitatis arripuit. habuit et aliud omen imperii: cum rogatus ad cenam imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuerat, togam praesidariam ipsius imperatoris accepit. eadem nocte somniavit lupae se uberibus ut 9 Remum inhaerere vel Romulum. sedit et in sella imperatoria temere a ministro posita, ignarus quod 10 non liceret. dormienti etiam in stabulo serpens caput cinxit et sine noxa expergefactis et adclamantibus familiaribus, abiit.¹

II. Iuventam plenam furorum, nonnumquam et criminum habuit. adulterii causam dixit absolutusque est a Iuliano proconsule, cui et in proconsulatu successit et in consulatu collega fuit et in imperio item 3 successit. quaesturam diligenter egit omisso tribunatu² militari. post quaesturam sorte Baeticam accepit atque inde Africam petiit, ut mortuo patre rem 4 domesticam componeret. sed dum in Africa est,

¹ habuit P. ² omisso tribunatu Hirschfeld, Golisch, Peter³; omnis sortibus natu P.

¹ See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

² See *Had.*, xxii. 2.

³ It is impossible to know who is meant here. The biographer is certainly wrong in identifying him with Didius Julianus, who was proconsul of Africa after Pertinax and shortly before his own elevation to the throne; see *Did. Jul.*, ii. 3.

SEVERUS I. 6—II. 4

man Septimius Severus, who had already been consul twice, he sought and secured from the Deified Marcus the broad stripe.¹

Soon after he had come to Rome he fell in with a stranger who at that very moment was reading the life of the Emperor Hadrian, and he snatched at this incident as an omen of future prosperity. He had still another omen of empire: for once, when he was invited to an imperial banquet and came wearing a cloak, when he should have worn his toga,² he was lent an official toga of the emperor's own. And that same night he dreamed that he tugged at the udders of a wolf, like Remus and Romulus. He sat down, furthermore, in the emperor's chair, which a servant had carelessly left accessible, being quite unaware that this was not allowed. And once, while he was sleeping in a tavern, a snake coiled about his head, and when his friends awoke from their sleep and shouted at it, it departed without doing him any harm.

II. His early manhood was filled with follies and not free from crime. He was charged with adultery, but pleaded his own case and was acquitted by the proconsul Julianus,³ the man who was his immediate predecessor in the proconsulship, his colleague in the consulship, and likewise his predecessor on the throne. Omitting the office of tribune of the soldiers, he became quaestor and performed his duties with diligence. At the expiration of his quaestorship he was allotted the province of Baetica,⁴ and from here he crossed over to Africa in order to settle his

⁴ He was quaestor in Rome and was then allotted to serve as quaestor (properly proquaestor) of the senatorial province of Hispania Baetica. Such double quaestorships appear frequently in inscriptions.

SEVERUS

pro Baetica Sardinia ei attributa est, quod Baeticam
 5 Mauri populabantur. acta igitur quaestura Sardini-
 6 ensi legationem proconsulis Africae accepit. in qua
 legatione cum eum quidam municipum suorum Lepti-
 tanus¹ praecedentibus fascibus ut antiquum contu-
 bernalium ipse plebeius amplexus esset, fustibus eum
 sub eiusmodi elogio² praeconis cecidit: "Legatum
 populi Romani homo plebeius temere amplecti noli".
 7 ex quo factum ut in vehiculo etiam legati sederent,
 8 qui ante pedibus ambulabant. tunc in quadam
 civitate Africana, cum sollicitus mathematicum con-
 suluisset, positaque hora ingentia vidisset astrologus,
 dixit ei: "Tuam non alienam pone genituram".
 9 cumque Severus iurasset suam esse, omnia ei dixit
 quae postea facta sunt.

III. Tribunatum plebis Marco imperatore decern-
 ente promeruit eumque severissime exsertissimeque
 2 egit. uxorem tunc Marciam duxit, de qua tacuit in
 historia vitae privatae. cui postea in imperio statuas
 3 conlocavit. praetor designatus a Marco est non in

¹ bracketed by Peter².
elogio eiusdem P., Peter.

² *eiusmodi elogio* Hirschfeld;

¹ See *Marc.*, xxi. 1. The year was about 172, since Severus was quaestor probably about the normal age of twenty-five; see note to *Pius.*, vi. 10. The invasion of the Moors seems to have made it necessary to administer Baetica as an imperial province, and Sardinia was accordingly temporarily assigned to the senate as a substitute.

² Her name was Paccia Marciana, according to an inscription from Africa; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 19494 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 440.

³ *i.e.* his autobiography, written after the death of Albinus,

domestic affairs, for his father had meanwhile died. But while he was in Africa, Sardinia was assigned him in place of Baetica, because the latter was being ravaged by the Moors.¹ He therefore served his quaestorship in Sardinia, and afterwards was appointed aide to the proconsul of Africa. While he was in this office, a certain fellow-townsmen of his, a plebeian, embraced him as an old comrade, though the fasces were being carried before him; whereupon he had the fellow beaten with clubs and then ordered a proclamation to be made by the herald to this effect: "Let no plebeian embrace without due cause a legate of the Roman people". On account of this incident, legates, who had previously gone on foot, thereafter rode in carriages. About this time, also, being worried about the future, he had recourse to an astrologer in a certain city of Africa. The astrologer, when he had cast the horoscope, saw high destinies in store for him, but added: "Tell me your own nativity and not that of another man". And when Severus swore an oath that it was really his, the astrologer revealed to him all the things that did later come to pass.

III. He was promoted to be tribune of the plebs by order of the Emperor Marcus, and he performed his duties with austerity and vigour. It was then that he married Marcia,² but of her he made no mention in the history of his life as a private man.³ Afterwards, however, while emperor, he erected statues in her honour. In the thirty-second year of his life¹⁷⁸ Marcus appointed him praetor, although he was not

apparently with the purpose of accusing his rivals and clearing himself of charges of cruelty; see c. xviii. 6; *Cl. Alb.*, vii. 1; Dio, lxxv. 7, 3.

SEVERUS

candida sed in competitorum grege anno aetatis
⁴ XXXII. tunc ad Hispaniam missus somniavit primo
 sibi dici, ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod
⁵ iam labebatur,¹ restitueret. dein ex altissimi montis
 vertice orbem terrarum Romamque despexit, con-
 cinentibus provinciis lyra voce vel tibia. ludos absens
⁶ edidit. legioni III Scythicae dein praepositus est
⁷ circa Massiliam. post hoc Athenas petiit studiorum
 sacrorumque causa et operum ac vetustatum. ubi
 cum iniurias quasdam ab Atheniensibus pertulisset,
 inimicus his factus minuendo eorum privilegia iam
⁸ imperator se ultus est. dein Lugdunensem provin-
⁹ ciam legatus accepit. cum amissa uxore aliam vellet
 ducere, genituras sponsarum requirebat, ipse quoque
 matheseos peritissimus, et cum audisset esse in Syria
 quandam quae id geniturae haberet ut regi iungere-
 tur, eandem uxorem petiit, Iuliam scilicet, et accepit
 interventu amicorum. ex qua statim pater factus
 IV. est. a Gallis ob severitatem et honorificentiam et
 abstinentiam tantum quantum nemo dilectus est.

¹ *leuabatur* P.

¹ A certain number of each board of magistrates were not chosen by the senate but nominated directly by the emperor. These appointees were called technically *candidati Caesaris*, and the phrase *in candida (toga)* seems to be only a variation of this expression.

² See *Hadr.*, xii. 3 and note.

³ In the time of the empire the conduct of the public games was one of the most important functions of the praetor.

⁴ There is some error here, for this legion was never quartered at Marseilles, and from the middle of the first century on it was stationed in Syria.

SEVERUS III. 4—IV.

one of the Emperor's candidates but only one of the ordinary crowd of competitors.¹ He was thereupon sent to Spain, and here he had a dream, first that he was told to repair the temple of Augustus at Tarraco,² which at that time was falling into ruin, and then that from the top of a very high mountain he beheld Rome and all the world, while the provinces sang together to the accompaniment of the lyre and flute. Though absent from the city, he gave games.³ Presently he was put in command of the Fourth Legion, the Scythica, stationed near Massilia,⁴ and after that he proceeded to Athens—partly in order to continue his studies and perform certain sacred rites, and partly on account of the public buildings and ancient monuments there. Here he suffered certain wrongs at the hands of the Athenians; and on that account he became their foe, and afterwards, as emperor, took vengeance on them by curtailing their rights. After this he was appointed to the province of Lugdunensis as legate. He had meanwhile lost his wife, and now, wishing to take another, he made inquiries about the horoscopes of marriageable women, being himself no mean astrologer; and when he learned that there was a woman in Syria whose horoscope predicted that she would wed a king (I mean Julia,⁵ of course), he sought her for his wife, and through the mediation of his friends secured her. By her, presently, he became a father.⁶ IV. And because he was strict, honourable and self-restrained, he was beloved by the Gauls as was no one else.

¹ Julia Domna, the elder daughter of Julius Bassianus, high-priest of the god Elagabalus at Emesa in Syria.

² His elder son Bassianus (Caracalla) was born at Lyons on the 4th April, 186.

SEVERUS

Dein Pannonias proconsulari imperio rexit. post hoc Siciliam proconsularem sorte meruit. suscepitque
² Romae alterum filium. in Sicilia, quasi de imperio vel vates vel Chaldaeos consulisset, reus factus, sed ¹ a praefectis praetorii, quibus audiendus datus fuerat, iam Commodus in odio veniente, absolutus est calumniatore in crucem acto. consulatum cum Apuleio Rufino primum egit, Commodus se inter plurimos designante. post consulatum anno ferme fuit otiosus; dein Laeto suffragante exercitui Germanico ²
⁵ praeponitur. proficiscens ad Germanicos exercitus hortos spatiosos comparavit, cum antea aedes brevissimas Romae ³ habuisset et unum fundum in Venetia.
⁶ et iam ⁴ in his hortis cum humi iacens epularetur cum filiis parca cena, pomaque adposita maior filius, qui tunc quinquennis erat, conlusoribus puerulis manu largiore divideret, paterque illum reprehendens dixisset, "Parcius divide, non enim regias opes possides," quinquennis puer respondit, "Sed possidebo" inquit.
⁷ in Germaniam profectus ita se in ea legatione egit, ut famam nobilitatam ⁵ iam ante cumlaret.

¹ sed Peter; et P. ² Germanico Baehrens, Peter¹; Germano P, Peter¹. ³ om. in Pl. ⁴ in Venetia Salmasius, et iam Editor; inuenit etiam P; in uicinia Peter. ⁵ nobilitatem P.

¹ This item is out of its proper order. He was not appointed to Pannonia until after his consulship; see § 4.

² Geta, born in 189, the year, as it seems, of Severus' consulship; see *Get.*, iii. 1.

³ Under the régime of Cleander; see *Com.*, vi. 7 f.; vii. 1.

SEVERUS IV. 2-7

Next he ruled the Pannonias¹ with proconsular powers, and after this he drew in the allotment the proconsular province of Sicily. At Rome, meanwhile, he was presented with a second son.² While he was in Sicily he was indicted for consulting about the imperial dignity with seers and astrologers, but, because Commodus was now beginning to be detested,³ he was acquitted by the prefects of the guard to whom he had been handed over for trial, while his accuser was crucified. He now served his first consulship, having Apuleius Rufinus⁴ for his[?] 189 colleague—an office to which Commodus appointed him from among a large number of aspirants. After the consulship he spent about a year free from public duties; then, on the recommendation of Laetus, he was put in charge of the army in Germany.⁵ Just as he was setting out for Germany, he acquired elaborate gardens, although he had previously kept only an unpretentious dwelling in the city and a single farm in Venetia. And now, when he was reclining on the ground in these gardens, partaking of a frugal supper with his children, his elder son, who was then five years old, divided the fruit, when it was served, with rather a bounteous hand among his young playmates. And when his father reproved him, saying: “Be more sparing; for you have not the riches of a king,” the five-year-old child replied: “No, but I shall have”. On coming to Germany, Severus conducted himself in this office in such a manner as to increase a reputation which was already illustrious.

¹ His name is given as Vitellius in *Get.*, iii. 1.

² An error for Pannonia (cf. § 2), for he was acclaimed emperor at Carnuntum (see c. v. 1); see also Dio, lxxiii. 14, 3 and Herodian, ii. 9, 2.

SEVERUS

V. Et hactenus rem militarem privatus egit. dehinc a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum est Commodum occisum, Iulianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus repugnans imperator est appellatus apud Carnuntum idibus Augustis. quod etiam sestertia, quot¹ nemo umquam principum militibus dedit. dein firmatis quas post tergum relinquebat provinciis Romam iter² contendit, cedentibus sibi cunctis, quacumque iter fecit, cum iam Illyriciani exercitus et Gallicani³ cogentibus ducibus in eius verba iurassent. excipiebatur enim ab omnibus⁴ quasi ultor Pertinacis. per idem tempus auctor Juliano Septimius Severus a senatu hostis est appellatus, legatis ad exercitum senatus verbis missis, qui iuberent ut ab eo milites senatu praecipiente discederent. et Severus quidem cum audisset senatus consentientis auctoritate missos legatos, primo pertimuit, postea id egit corruptis legatis, ut apud exercitum pro se loquerentur transirentque in eius partes. his compertis Iulianus senatus consultum fieri fecit de participando imperio cum Severo. incertum vere id an dolo fecerit, cum iam ante misisset⁵ notos ducum interfectores quosdam, qui Severum

¹ quot Rühl; quod P, Peter.

² gallicanis P.

⁴ consulatum P¹.

² iter Peter; item P

⁵ misissent P.

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, iv. 2 f.

² An error, for Didius Julianus was killed on the 1st June (see note to *Did. Jul.*, ix. 3), and Severus was then not far from Rome. The date was probably the Ides of April.

³ i.e. each legionary.

⁴ Used inexactly to denote the armies of the Danube and the Rhine. His coins of 193 show the names of fifteen different legions belonging to these armies (see Cohen iv⁴ p. 31 f., nos. 255-278). To these is to be added the Tenth

SEVERUS V. 1-8

V. So far did he pursue his military career as a subject. Now, when it was learned that Commodus had been slain and that Julianus was holding the throne amid general hatred,¹ at the behest of many, but against his own will, he was hailed emperor by the German legions; this took place at Carnuntum on the Ides of August.² A thousand sesterces—a 13 Aug.,
193 sum which no prince had ever given before—were presented to each soldier.³ And then, after garrisoning the provinces which he was leaving in his rear, he hastened his march on Rome. Wherever his path lay, all yielded to him, and the legions in Illyricum and Gaul⁴ had already, under compulsion from their generals, espoused his cause, for he was universally regarded as the avenger of Pertinax. Meanwhile, at Julianus' instigation, the senate declared him a public enemy,⁵ and legates were sent to his army with a message from the senate ordering his soldiers in the name of the senate to desert him.⁶ And in truth, when Severus heard that legates had been sent by unanimous order of the senate, he was at first terrified; afterwards, however, he managed to bribe the legates to address the army in his favour and then to desert to his side themselves.⁷ When Julianus learned of this, he caused the senate to pass a decree that Severus and he should share the throne.⁸ Whether this was done in good faith or treacherously is not clear; for already, ere this, Julianus had sent certain fellows, notorious assassins of generals, to murder Severus,⁹ and indeed he had sent men

Legion, the Gemina, stationed in Pannonia Superior, of which, as it happens, no coin has been preserved.

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 3.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 5.

³ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, vi. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, vi. 9.

⁵ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 6.

SEVERUS

occiderent, ita ut ad Pescennium Nigrum interficiendum miserat, qui et ipse imperium contra eum
 9 susceperat auctoribus Syriacis exercitibus. verum
 Severus evitatis eorum manibus quos ad se interficiendum Iulianus miserat, missis ad praetorianos litteris
 signum vel deserendi vel occidendi Iuliani dedit
 10 statimque auditus est. nam et Iulianus occisus est
 11 in Palatio, et Severus Romam invitatus. ita, quod
 nulli umquam contigit, nutu tantum Severus victor
 est factus armatusque Romam contendit.

VI. Occiso Iuliano cum Severus in castris et tentoriis
 quasi per hosticum veniens adhuc maneret, centum
 senatores legatos ad eum senatus misit ad gratulan-
 2 dum rogandumque. qui ei occurrerunt Interamnae
 armatumque circumstantibus armatis salutarunt, ex-
 3 cussi ne quid ferri haberent. et postera die occur-
 4 rente omni famulicio aulico, septingenos¹ vicenos
 aureos legatis dedit eosdemque praemisit, facta
 potestate si qui vellent remanere ac secum Romam
 5 redire. fecit etiam statim praefectum praetorii
 Flavium Iuvenalem, quem etiam Iulianus tertium
 praefectum sibi adsumpserat.

¹ septingenos Hirschfeld; septuagenos P, Peter.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 1; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 4.

³ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.* ii. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, viii. 5 f.

⁴ Hirschfeld points out that through the use of base metal the denarius had so depreciated that 25,000 den. (100,000 sesterces) was now equal to only 720 aurei instead of 1000. Accordingly, the sum that was presented to each of the

to murder Pescennius Niger as well,¹ who, at the instigation of the armies in Syria,² had also declared himself emperor in opposition to Julianus. However, Severus escaped the clutches of the men whom Julianus had sent to kill him and despatched a letter to the guard instructing them either to desert Julianus or to kill him; and his order was immediately obeyed.³ For not only was Julianus slain in the Palace, but Severus was invited to Rome. And so, by the mere nod of his head, Severus became the victor—a thing that had befallen no man ever before—and still under arms hastened towards Rome.

VI. After the murder of Julianus, Severus still remained encamped and in his tents as though he were advancing through a hostile territory; the senate, therefore, sent a delegation of a hundred senators to bear him congratulations and sue for pardon. And when these met him at Interamna, they were searched for concealed weapons and only then suffered to greet him as he stood armed and in the midst of armed men. But on the following day, after all the palace attendants had arrived, he presented each member of the delegation with seven hundred and twenty pieces of gold,⁴ and sent them on ahead, granting to such as desired, however, the privilege of remaining and returning to Rome with himself. Without further delay, he appointed as prefect of the guard that Flavius Juvenalis whom Julianus had chosen for his third prefect.⁵

legates was the equivalent of 100,000 sesterces reckoned according to the later standard. See von Domaszewski in *Rhein. Mus.*, liv. (1899), p. 312.

⁵ Probably on the death of Tullius Crispinus; see *Did. Jul.*, viii. 1.

SEVERUS

6 Interim Romae ingens trepidatio militum civium-
que, quod armatus contra eos Severus veniret, qui
7 se hostem iudicassent. his accessit quod comperit
Pescennium Nigrum a Syriacis legionibus imperatorem
8 appellatum. cuius edicta et litteras ad populum vel
senatum intercepit per eos qui missi fuerant, ne vel
9 proponerentur populo vel legerentur in curia. eodem
tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo
cogitavit, cui Caesareanum decretum auctore Com-
10 modo iam¹ videbatur imperium. sed eos ipsos per-
timescens de² quibus recte iudicabat,³ Heraclitum ad
obtinendas Britannias, Plautianum ad occupandos
11 Nigri liberos misit. cum Romam Severus venisset,
praetorianos cum subarmalibus inermes sibi iussit
occurrere. eosdem sic ad tribunal vocavit armatis
undique circumdatis.

VII. Ingressus deinde Romam armatus cum armatis
militibus Capitolium ascendit. inde in⁴ Palatium
eodem habitu perrexit, praelatis signis quae praeto-
2 rianis ademerat supinis non erectis. tota deinde urbe

¹ auctore Commodi iam nomen Oberdick; nomen om. by Editor; aut Commodianum P. ² so Peter¹; pertimescende P; pertimescendo P corr., Peter². ³ iudicabat P, Peter¹;

inuidebat Peter². ⁴ om. in P.

¹ Cf. *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 1; vi. 4-5; xiii. 4. This is doubtless a fiction.

² Or Bithynia, according to *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2, but the reading *Britannias* is probably the correct one. About this time Severus, in order to attach Albinus to his cause, offered him the name Caesar (see note to *Cl. Alb.*, i. 2), and Heraclitus may have been sent for this purpose.

³ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 2. On C. Fulvius Plautianus see c. xiv. 5 f.

⁴ He then reproached them for their treachery to Pertinax

Meanwhile at Rome a mighty panic seized both soldiers and civilians, for they realized that Severus was advancing under arms and against those who had declared him a public enemy. The excitement was further increased when Severus learned that Pescennius Niger had been hailed emperor by the legions in Syria. However, the proclamations and letters that Pescennius sent to the people and senate were, with the connivance of the messengers who had been sent with them, intercepted by Severus, for he wished to prevent their being published among the people or read in the senate-house. At the same time, too, he considered abdicating in favour of Clodius Albinus, to whom, it appeared, the power of a Caesar¹ had already been decreed at the instance of Commodus. But instead, he sent Heraclitus to secure Britain² and Plautianus to seize Niger's children,³ in fear of these men and having formed a correct opinion about them. And when he arrived at Rome, he ordered the guard to meet him clad only in their undergarments and without arms; then, with armed men posted all about him, he summoned them, thus appalled, to the tribunal.⁴

VII. Severus, armed himself and attended by armed men, entered the city and went up to the Capitol;⁵ thence he proceeded, still fully armed, to the Palace, having the standards, which he had taken from the praetorians, borne before him not raised erect but trailing on the ground. And then throughout the whole

disarmed and disbanded them, and banished them from the city; see Dio, lxxiv. 1, 1 and Herodian, ii. 13, 4 f. This took place just outside the walls.

⁵ A vivid description of his triumphal entry is given in Dio, lxxiv. 1, 3-5.

SEVERUS

milites in templis, in porticibus, in aedibus Palatinis,
 3 quasi in stabulis manserunt, fuitque ingressus Severi
 odiosus atque terribilis, cum milites inempta diripe-
 4 rent, vastationem urbi minantes. alia die armatis
 stipatus non solum militibus sed etiam amicis in
 senatum venit. in curia reddidit rationem suscepti
 imperii causatusque est, quod ad se occidendum
 5 Iulianus notos ducum caedibus misisset. fieri etiam
 senatus consultum coegit, ne liceret imperatori in-
 6 consulto senatu occidere senatorem. sed cum in
 senatu esset, milites per seditionem dena milia
 poposcerunt a senatu, exemplo eorum qui Augustum
 Octavianum Romam deduxerant tantumque accepe-
 7 rant. et cum eos voluisset comprimere Severus nec
 potuisset, tamen mitigatos addita liberalitate dimisit.
 8 funus deinde censorium Pertinacis imagini duxit
 eumque inter divos sacravit, addito flamine et soda-
 9 libus Helvianis, qui Marciani fuerant. se quoque

¹ Cf. c. v. 8; *Did. Jul.*, v. 8; *Pesc. Nig.*, ii. 5.

² So also Dio, lxxiv. 2, 1 and Herodian, ii. 14, 3-4. Dio observes that Severus violated this decree almost at once.

³ See Dio, xlv. 46.

⁴ He gave to each one thousand sesterces; see Dio, *ibid.*

⁵ This funeral is described in detail in Dio, lxxiv. 4-5.

⁶ A survival of the republican period, when the senate frequently honoured a dead ex-magistrate by decreeing that he might be buried in his robe of office. Of these robes the purple toga of the censor was considered the highest, and a *funus censorium* was, accordingly, the most honourable type of public funeral. It was later accorded by vote of the senate to emperors, e.g. to Augustus (*Tacitus, Annals.*, xii. 69) and to Claudius (*id.*, xiii. 2).

⁷ See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4; see also *Pert.*, xv. 3-4.

ty, in temples, in porticoes, and in the dwellings on the Palatine, the soldiers took up their quarters as though in barracks; and Severus' entry inspired both hate and fear, for the soldiers seized goods they did not pay for and threatened to lay the city waste. On the next day, accompanied not only by armed soldiers but also by a body of armed friends, Severus appeared before the senate, and there, in the senate-house, gave his reasons for assuming the imperial power, alleging in defence thereof that men notorious for assassinating generals had been sent by Julianus to murder him.¹ He secured also the passage of a senatorial decree to the effect that the emperor should not be permitted to put any senator to death without first consulting the senate.² But while he was still in the senate-house, his soldiers, with threats of mutiny, demanded of the senate ten thousand sesterces each, citing the precedent of those who had conducted Augustus Octavian to Rome and received a similar sum.³ And although Severus himself desired to repress them, he found himself unable; eventually, however, by giving them a bounty he managed to appease them and then sent them away.⁴ Thereupon he held for an effigy of Pertinax⁵ a funeral such as is given a censor,⁶ elevated him to a place among the deified emperors and gave him, besides, a flamen and a Helvian Brotherhood, composed of the priests who had previously constituted the Marcian Brotherhood.⁷ Moreover, he himself was, at his own command, given the name Pertinax;⁸ although later he

⁸ According to Herodian, ii. 10, 1, he assumed this name before he left Pannonia. It appears in his inscriptions and on his coins, especially those issued during the first part of his reign.

SEVERUS

Pertinacem vocari iussit, quamvis postea id nomen aboleri voluerit quasi¹ omen.

VIII. Amicorum dehinc aes alienum² dissolvit, filias suas dotatas maritis Probo et Aetio dedit, et cum Probo genero suo praefecturam urbi obtulisset, ille recusavit dixitque minus sibi videri praefectum esse quam principis generum. utrumque autem generum statim consulem fecit, utrumque ditavit. alia die ad senatum venit et amicos Iuliani incusatos proscriptioni ac neci dedit. causas plurimas audivit, accusatos a provincialibus iudices probatis rebus graviter punivit. rei frumentariae, quam minimum reppererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita septem annorum canonem populo Romano relinqueret.

Ad orientis statum confirmandum profectus est, nihil adhuc de Nigro palam dicens. ad Africam tamen legiones misit, ne per Libyam atque Aegyptum Niger Africam occuparet ac populo Romano penuria rei frumentariae perurgueret. Domitium Dextrum in locum Bassi praefectum³ urbi reliquit atque intra triginta dies quam Romam venerat est profectus. egressus ab urbe ad Saxa Rubra seditionem ingentem ob locum castrorum metandorum ab exercitu passus est. occurrit ei et statim Geta frater suus, quem

¹ quae P.
praefecti P.

² alienos P.

³ praefectum Mommsen;

¹ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 4 f.

² Before setting out he gave largess; see the coins of 193 with the legend *Liberalitas Aug(usti)*; Cohen, iv², p. 32 f., nos. 279-287.

³ On the Via Flaminia, about ten miles north of Rome.

⁴ P. Septimius Geta. His province was probably Dacia, of which he was governor in 195; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 905.

SEVERUS VII.—VIII. 10

wished it withdrawn, for fear that it would prove an omen.

VIII. Next he freed his friends from debt. He then settled dowries on his daughters and gave them in marriage to Probus and Aetius. As for his son-in-law Probus, when he offered to make him prefect of the city, Probus declined, averring that it meant less to him to be prefect of the city than son-in-law to the emperor. However, he immediately appointed each of them consul and made each rich. Soon there-⁷ 193 after he appeared before the senate, and bringing in accusations against the friends of Julianus, caused them to be outlawed and put to death. He heard a vast number of lawsuits, and magistrates who had been accused by the provincials he punished severely whenever the accusations against them were proved; and finding the grain-supply at a very low ebb, he managed it so well that on departing this life he left the Roman people a surplus to the amount of seven years' tribute.

And now he set out to remedy the situation in the July, 193 East, still making no public mention of Niger. None the less, however, he sent troops to Africa, for fear that Niger might advance through Libya and Egypt and seize this province, and thereby distress the Roman people with a scarcity of grain.¹ Then, leaving Domitius Dexter as prefect of the city in place of Bassus, within thirty days of his coming to Rome he set out again;² and he had proceeded from the city no farther than Saxa Rubra³ when he had to face a great mutiny in his army, which arose on account of the place selected for pitching camp. Then his brother Geta⁴ came at once to meet him, but merely received orders to rule the province already

SEVERUS

- provinciam sibi creditam regere praecepit¹ aliam
 11 sperantem. Nigri liberos ad se adductos in eo habuit
 12 honore quo suos. miserat sane legionem, quam
 Graeciam Thraciamque praeciperet, ne eas Pescennius
 13 occuparet. sed iam Byzantium Niger tenebat. Perin-
 inthum etiam Niger volens occupare plurimos de
 exercitu interfecit atque ideo hostis cum Aemiliano
 14 est appellatus. cumque Severum ad participandum
 15 vocaret, contemptus est. promisit sane Nigro tutum
 exsilium, si vellet, Aemiliano autem non ignovit.
 16 Aemilianus dehinc victus in Hellesponto a Severo
 ducibus Cyzicum primum confugit atque inde in
 aliam civitatem, in qua eorum iussu occisus est.
 17 fusae sunt item copiae ab iisdem ducibus etiam Nigri.
 IX. his auditis ad senatum Severus quasi confectis rebus
 litteras misit. dein conflixit cum Nigro eumque apud
 Cyzicum interemit caputque eius pilo circumtulit.
 2 filios Nigri post hoc, quos suorum liberorum cultu
 habuerat, in exsilium cum matre misit.
 3 Litteras ad senatum de victoria dedit. neque

¹ accepit P.

¹ See c. vi. 10 and ix. 2.

² Asellius Aemilianus, the proconsul of Asia and commander of Niger's army.

³ See *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 6-7.

⁴ This was after the defeat at Perinthus (§ 16); see *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 8.

⁵ Probably at Perinthus on the Propontis.

⁶ Near Nicaea in Bithynia; see Dio, lxxiv. 6, 5 f.

⁷ This is an error, repeated in *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 8. Niger was finally defeated near Issus in Cilicia; see Dio, lxxiv. 7 and Herodian, iii. 4, 2 f. The date has recently been determined

in his charge, though Geta had other hopes. Niger's children, who were brought to him, he treated with the same care that he showed his own.¹ Previous to this, he had sent a legion to occupy Greece and Thrace, and thereby prevent Niger from seizing them. But Niger already held Byzantium, and now wishing to seize Perinthus too, he slew a great number of this force and accordingly, together with Aemilianus,² was declared an enemy to the state.³ He next proposed joint rule with Severus; this was rejected with scorn. As a matter of fact, Severus did promise him an unmolested exile if he wished it,⁴ but refused to pardon Aemilianus. Soon thereafter Aemilianus was defeated by Severus' generals at the Hellespont⁵ and fled first to Cyzicus and from there to another city, and here he was put to death by order of Severus' generals. Niger's own forces, moreover, were routed by the same generals.⁶ IX. On receipt of this news Severus despatched letters to the senate as if the whole affair were finished. And not long afterwards he met with Niger near Cyzicus,⁷ slew him, and paraded his head on a pike. Niger's children, whom he had maintained in the same state as his own,⁸ he sent into exile after this event, together with their mother.

He sent a letter to the senate announcing the victory,⁹ but he inflicted no punishment upon any of

as the close of 193. Niger fled but was overtaken by some of Severus' soldiers between Antioch and the Euphrates and beheaded; see Dio, lxxiv. 8, 9.

¹ See c. viii. 11. They were afterwards put to death; see c. x. 1 and *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 1-2.

⁹ He was acclaimed *Imperator* for the third time; see the coins of 194 with the legends *Mars Pacator* and *Paci Augusti*, Cohen, iv², p. 35, no. 308, and p. 40, no. 359.

SEVERUS

quemquam senatorum qui Nigri partium fuerant
 4 praeter unum supplicio adfecit. Antiochensibus ir-
 tior fuit, quod et administrantem se in oriente¹
 5 riserant et Nigrum etiam victu² iuverant. denique
 multa his ademit. Neapolitanis etiam Palaestinensi-
 bus ius civitatis tulit, quod pro Nigro diu in armis
 6 fuerunt. in multos saeve³ animadvertit, praeter ce-
 7 dinem senatorium, qui Nigrum fuerant secuti. mul-
 tas etiam civitates eiusdem partis iniuriis adfecit et
 8 damnis. eos senatores occidit qui cum Nigro mili-
 taverant ducum vel tribunorum nomine.
 9 Deinde circa Arabiam plura gessit, Parthis etiam
 in dicionem redactis nec non etiam Adiabenis, qui
 10 quidem omnes cum Pescennio senserant. atque ob
 hoc reversus triumpho delato appellatus est Arabicus
 11 Adiabenicus Parthicus. sed triumphum respuit, ne
 videretur de civili triumphare victoria. excusavit et
 Parthicum nomen, ne Parthos lacesseret.

X. Redeunti sane Romam post bellum civile Nigri

¹ orientem P, Peter.
 se P.

² victum Peter².

³ saeve Peter.

¹ See c. vii. 5. This statement is confirmed by Dio; see lxxiv. 8, 4.

² Nigér's head appears on a coin of Colonia Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem); see Cohen, iii², p. 413, no. 82.

³ Notably Byzantium, which his army captured after a long siege; see Dio, lxxiv. 14, 3.

⁴ The campaign actually took place in northern Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, which had been invaded by the surrounding tribes. Most of the fighting seems to have been done under the command of the legates, Laetus, Anulinus, and Probus, who crossed the Tigris and invaded Adiabene; see Dio, lxxv. 1-3.

⁵ In the inscriptions and on the coins of this period he is

SEVERUS IX. 4—X.

the senators who had sided with Niger,¹ with the exception of one man. Towards the citizens of Antioch he was more resentful, because they had laughed at him in his administration of the East and also had aided Niger with supplies. Eventually he deprived them of many privileges. The citizens of Neapolis in Palestine, because they had long been in arms on Niger's side,² he deprived of all their civic rights, and to many individuals, other than members of the senatorial order, who had followed Niger he meted out cruel punishments. Many communities,³ too, which had been on Niger's side, were punished with fines and degradation; and such senators as had seen active service on Niger's side with the title of general or tribune were put to death.

Next, he engaged in further operations in the region about Arabia⁴ and brought the Parthians back to allegiance and also the Adiabeni—all of whom had sided with Pescennius. For this exploit, after he returned home, he was given a triumph and the names Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus.⁵ He refused the triumph, however, lest he seem to triumph for a victory over Romans; and he declined the name Parthicus lest he hurt the Parthians' feelings.

X. And then, just as he was returning to Rome after the civil war caused by Niger, he received news ¹⁹⁶

called *Arabicus Adiabenicus*, or *Parthicus Arabicus Parthicus Adiabenicus*; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 417 f., and Cohen, iv², p. 8, nos. 48-52, and p. 40 f., nos. 363-368. The statement in § 11, accordingly, is not accurate. However, the cognomen *Parthicus* is not used without these qualifying words until after his campaign of 198 (see c. xvi. 2). These names were taken in 194, when he was acclaimed *Imperator* for the fourth time.

SEVERUS

- aliud bellum civile Clodii Albini nuntiatum est, qui rebellavit in Gallia. quare postea occisi sunt filii
 2 Nigri¹ cum matre. Albinum igitur statim hostem iudicavit et eos qui ad illum mollius vel scripserunt
 3 vel rescripserunt. et cum iret contra Albinum, in itinere apud Viminacium filium suum maiorem Bassianum adposito Aurelii Antonini nomine Caesarem appellavit, ut fratrem suum Getam ab spe imperii,
 4 quam ille conceperat, summoeveret. et nomen quidem Antonini idcirco filio adposuit, quod somniaverat
 5 Antoninum sibi successurum. unde Getam etiam quidam Antoninum putant dictum, ut et ipse succederet in imperio. aliqui putant idcirco illum Antoninum appellatum, quod Severus ipse in Marci familiam transire voluerit.
 7 Et primo quidem ab Albinianis Severi duces victi sunt. tunc sollicitus cum consuleret, a Pannoniacis auguribus comperit se victorem futurum, adversarium

¹ filii Nigri om. in P.

¹ See c. vi. 9; *Cl. Alb.*, viii. 4 f.

² More correctly, Britain, of which he was governor. He had previously received from Severus the title of Caesar (see note to *Cl. Alb.*, i. 2), and he now assumed that of Augustus.

³ See c. ix. 2 and note.

⁴ On his march from Byzantium through Moesia to Gaul. As Hirschfeld has pointed out, there is no reason to suppose that Severus went to Rome at this time; see *Kl. Schriften* (Berlin, 1913), p. 432.

⁵ From this time on, in inscriptions and on coins he always bears the name M. Aurelius Antoninus.

⁶ See note to *Ael.*, i. 2. In this instance, the purpose of the step was to nullify Albinus' claim to the name and to the succession (see note to § 1).

⁷ i.e. Severus' younger son.

of another civil war, caused by Clodius Albinus,¹ who had revolted in Gaul.² It was because of this revolt that Niger's children and their mother were later put to death.³ As for Albinus, Severus at once declared him a public foe, and likewise those who, in their letters to him or replies to his letters, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined to him. As he was advancing against Albinus, moreover, and had reached Viminacium⁴ on his march, he gave his elder son Bassianus the name Aurelius Antoninus⁵ and the title of Caesar,⁶ in order to destroy whatever hopes of succeeding to the throne his brother Geta had conceived. His reason for giving his son the name Antoninus was that he had dreamed that an Antoninus would succeed him. It was because of this dream, some believe, that Geta⁷ also was called Antoninus,⁸ in order that he too might succeed to the throne. Others, however, think that Bassianus was given the name Antoninus because Severus himself wished to pass over into the family of Marcus.⁹

At first, Severus' generals¹⁰ were worsted by those of Albinus;¹¹ but when, in his anxiety, he consulted augurs in Pannonia, he learned that he would be

⁸ The statement that Geta was given the name Antoninus is frequently made in these biographies; see c. xvi. 4; xix. 2; *Get.*, i. 1 f.; v. 3. It is questioned, on the other hand, in *Diad.*, vi. 9, and as this name does not appear in the inscriptions or on the coins of Geta, the statement is probably incorrect.

⁹ So also Dio, lxxv. 7, 4, and lxxvi. 9. 4. In his inscriptions from this time on he appears as *Divi Marci Antonini Pii Germ. Sarm. filius*, etc. He also assumed the name Pius about this time.

¹⁰ See also *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 1-4.

¹¹ In particular, Lupus, who was badly defeated by Albinus about this time; see Dio, lxxv. 6, 2.

SEVERUS

vero nec in potestatem venturum neque evasurum sed
⁸ iuxta aquam esse periturum.¹ multi statim amici
 Albini deserentes venere, multi duces capti sunt, in
 XI. quos Severus animadvertit. multis interim varie
 gestis in Gallia primo apud Tinurtium contra Albinum
² felicissime pugnavit Severus. cum quidem ingens
 periculum equi casu adiit,² ita ut mortuus ictu plumbeae
 crederetur, ita ut alius iam paene imperator ab exer-
³ citu deligeretur. eo tempore lectis actis quae de
 Clodio Celsino laudando, qui Hadrumentinus et adfinis
 Albini erat, facta sunt, iratus senatui Severus, quasi
 hoc Albino senatus praestitisset, Commodum inter
 divos referendum esse censuit, quasi hoc genere sede
⁴ senatu posset ulcisci. primusque inter milites divum
 Commodum pronuntiavit idque ad senatum scripsit
⁵ addita oratione victoriae. senatorum deinde qui in
 bello erant interempti cadavera dissipari iussit.
⁶ deinde Albini corpore adlato paene seminecis caput
 abscidi iussit Romamque deferri idque litteris pro-
⁷ secutus est. victus est Albinus die XI kal. Martias.

¹ sed . . . periturum rejected by Peter² as repetition from
Pesc. Nig., ix. 5. ² cadit P.

¹ Probably the modern Tournus on the Saône about twenty miles north of Mâcon. A description of the engagement is given in Dio, lxxv. 6-7. According to his version, Albinus killed himself after the defeat; but see §§ 6-9 and *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 3.

² i.e. Julius Laetus; see Herodian, iii. 7, 4; cf. c. xv. 6.

³ His brother, according to *Cl. Alb.*, ix. 6; xii. 9, but this is probably an error.

⁴ See *Com.*, xvii. 11.

⁵ According to Dio, lxxv. 7, the announcement of Commodus' deification did cause the senate great consternation. Severus' real purpose, however, was probably to carry out

the victor, and that his opponent would neither fall into his hands nor yet escape, but would die close by the water. Many of Albinus' friends soon deserted and came over to Severus; and many of his generals were captured, all of whom Severus punished. XI. Meanwhile, after many operations had been carried on in Gaul with varying success, Severus had his first successful encounter with Albinus at Tinurtium.¹ Through the fall of his horse, however, he was at one time in the utmost peril; and it was even believed that he had been slain by a blow with a ball of lead, and the army almost elected another emperor.² It was at this time that Severus, on reading the resolutions passed by the senate in praise of Clodius Celsinus, who was a native of Hadrumetum and Albinus' kinsman,³ became highly incensed at the senate, as though it had recognized Albinus by this act, and issued a decree that Commodus should be placed among the deified,⁴ as though he could take vengeance on the senate by this sort of thing.⁵ He proclaimed the deification of Commodus to the soldiers first, and then announced it to the senate in a letter, to which he added a discourse on his own victory. Next, he gave orders that the bodies of the senators who had been slain in the battle should be mutilated. And then, when Albinus' body was brought before him, he had him beheaded while still half alive,⁶ gave orders that his head should be taken to Rome, and followed up the order with a letter. Albinus was defeated on the eleventh day before the 19 Feb.,
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further his policy of attaching himself to the house of the Antonines; see c. x. 6.

⁶ See note to § 1.

SEVERUS

Reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum propriam exponi ac diu videri¹ iussit. equum praeterea ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit expavescens, temque admonuit et effrenatum ut audacter protereret. addunt alii quod idem cadaver in Rhodanum abici praecepit, simul etiam uxoris liberorumque eius.

XII. Interfectis innumeris Albini partium viris, inter quos multi principes civitatis, multae feminae inlustres fuerunt, omnium bona publicata sunt aerariumque auxerunt; tum et Hispanorum et Gallorum proceres multi occisi sunt. denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo principum dedit. filiis etiam suis ex hac proscriptione tantum reliquit quantum nullus imperatorum, cum magnam partem auri per Gallias, per Hispanias, per Italiam, imperatoriam² fecisset. tuncque primum privatarum rerum procuratio constituta est. multi sane post Albinum fidei ei servantes bello a Severo superati sunt. eodem tempore etiam legio Arabica defecisse ad Albinum nuntiata est.

Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem interfectis plurimis, genere quoque eius extincto, iratus Romam et populo et senatoribus venit. Commodum in senatum et contionem laudavit, deum appellavit, infamibus displicuisse dixit, ut appareret eum aper-

¹ *diu videri* Salmasius; *diuidere* P. ² *imperatoriam* von Domaszewski; *imperator iam* P, Peter.

¹ These executions took place in Gaul (Herodian, iii, 8, 2); they are to be distinguished from the later executions at Rome; see c. xiii.

The rest of Albinus' body was, by Severus' order, laid out in front of his own home, and kept there for a long time exposed to view. Furthermore, Severus himself rode on horseback over the body, and when the horse shied, he spoke to it and loosed the reins, that it might trample boldly. Some add that he ordered Albinus' body to be cast into the Rhone, and also the bodies of his wife and children.

XII. Countless persons who had sided with Albinus were put to death,¹ among them numerous leading men and many distinguished women, and all their goods were confiscated and went to swell the public treasury. Many nobles of the Gauls and Spains were also put to death at this time. Finally, he gave his soldiers sums of money such as no emperor had ever given before. Yet as a result of these confiscations, he left his sons a fortune greater than any other emperor had left to his heirs, for he had made a large part of the gold in the Gauls, Spains, and Italy imperial property. At this time the office of steward for private affairs² was first established. After Albinus' death many who remained loyal to him were defeated by Severus in battle. At this same time, moreover, he received word that the legion in Arabia had gone over to Albinus.³

And so, after having taken harsh vengeance for Albinus' revolt by putting many men to death and exterminating Albinus' family, he came to Rome filled with wrath at the people and senate. He delivered a eulogy of Commodus before the senate and before an assembly of the people and declared him a god; he averred, moreover, that Commodus had been un-

² See note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

³ The Third Legion, the Cyrenaica.

SEVERUS

9tissime furere. post hoc de sua clementia disseruit, cum crudelissimus fuerit et senatores infra scriptos
 XIII. occiderit. occidit autem sine causae dictione hos nobiles: Mummium Secundinum, Asellium Claudianum, Claudium Rufum, Vitalium Victorem, Papium Faustum, Aelium Celsum, Iulium Rufum, Lollium Professum, Aurunculeium Cornelianum, Antonium¹ Balbum, Postumium Severum, Sergium Lustralem, Fabium Paulinum, Nonium Gracchum, Masticium Fabianum, Casperium Agrippinum, Ceionium Albinum, Claudium Sulpicianum, Memmium Rufinum, Casperium Aemilianum, Cocceium Verum, Erucium Claudium² Stilonem, Clodium Rufinum, Egnatuleium Honoratum, Petronium Iuniolem, Pescennius Festum et Veratianum et Aurelianum et Materialium et Iulianum et Albinum, Cerellios Macrinum et Faustianum et Iulianum, Herennium Nepotem, Sulpicium³ Canum, Valerium Catullinum, Novium Rufum, Claudium Arabianum, Marcium⁴ Asellionem. horum igitur tantorum ac tam inlustrium virorum, nam multi in his consulares, multi praetorii, omnes certe summi viri fuere, interfector ab Afris ut deus habetur. Cincium Severum calumniatus est quod se veneno adpetisset, XIV. atque ita interfecit. Narcissum dein, Commodi strangulatorem, leonibus obiecit. multos praeterea

¹ *Antonium* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ² *Praef.*, p. xlii.; *Antoninum* P, Peter.

² *Aelium* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ³ *Praef.*, p. xlii.; L. P, Peter. ⁴ *Sulpius* P, Peter. ⁴ *Marcium* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter, ³ *Praef.*, p. xlii.; *Marcum* P, Peter.

¹ A few telling sentences from the speech are recorded in Dio, lxxv. 8. Dio also relates that he praised the severity and cruelty of Marius and Sulla; these names were afterwards applied to him; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 4.

SEVERUS XII. 9—XIV.

popular only among the degraded.¹ Indeed, it was evident that Severus was openly furious. After this he spoke about the mercy he had shown, whereas he was really exceedingly blood-thirsty and executed the senators enumerated below.² XIII. He put to death without even a trial the following noblemen : Mummius Secundinus, Asellius Claudianus, Claudius Rufus, Vitalius Victor, Papius Faustus, Aelius Celsus, Julius Rufus, Lollius Professus, Aurunculeius Cornelianus, Antonius Balbus, Postumius Severus, Sergius Lustralis, Fabius Paulinus, Nonius Gracchus, Masticius Fabianus, Casperius Agrippinus, Ceionius Albinus, Claudius Sulpicianus, Memmius Rufinus, Casperius Aemilianus, Cocceius Verus, Erucius Clarus, Aelius Stilo, Clodius Rufinus, Egnatuleius Honoratus, Petronius Junior, the six Pescennii, Festus, Veratianus, Aurelianus, Materianus, Julianus, and Albinus ; the three Cerellii, Macrinus, Faustianus, and Julianus ; Herennius Nepos, Sulpicius Canus, Valerius Catullinus, Novius Rufus, Claudius Arabianus, and Marcius Asellio. And yet he who murdered all these distinguished men, many of whom had been consuls and many praetors, while all were of high estate, is regarded by the Africans as a god. He falsely accused Cincius Severus of attempting his life by poison, and thereupon put him to death ; next, he cast to the lions Narcissus, the man who had strangled Commodus.³ XIV. And besides, he put to death many men from

¹ According to Dio, *ibid.*, he executed twenty-nine and pardoned thirty five. The following list of forty-one probably includes some of the partisans of Niger, whom Severus had previously refrained from putting to death ; see c. ix. 3.

² Cf. *Com.*, xvii. 2. But according to Dio, Narcissus was put to death by Didius Julianus ; see note to *Did. Jul.*, vi. 2.

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obscuri loci homines interemit praeter eos quos vis proelii absumpsit.

- 2 Post haec, cum se vellet commendare hominibus, vehicularium munus a privatis ad fiscum traduxit.
- 3 Caesarem dein Bassianum Antoninum a senatu ap-
- 4 pellari fecit, decretis imperatoriis insignibus. rumore deinde belli Parthici excitus ¹ patri matri avo et
- 5 uxori priori per se statuas conlocavit. Plautianum ex amicissimo cognita eius vita ita odio habuit, ut et hostem publicum appellaret et depositis statu-
is eius per orbem terrae gravi eum insigniret iniuria, iratus praecipue, quod inter propinquorum et adfinium Severi simulacra suam statuam ille posuisset.
- 6 Palaestinis poenam remisit quam ob causam Nigri
- 7 meruerant. postea iterum cum Plautiano in gratiam rediit et veluti ovans urbem ingressus Capitolium ² petiit, quamvis et ipsum procedenti tempore occiderit.

¹ *excitus* Editor; *exciti* Petschenig; *extiti* P; *extincti* Peter¹; *rumor* . . . *extitit* Peter.² ² *cum eo Capitolium* Peter; *cum eo* om. in P.

¹ See note to *Hadr.*, vii. 5.

² Bassianus had already received the name Caesar (see c. x. 3); it was now confirmed by the senate. He was also at this time made a member of some of the priestly colleges to which the emperor belonged (see note to *Marc.*, vi. 3), and he was apparently recognized officially as his father's successor, for from now on he bore the title of *Imperator Destinatus*; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 442, 446, 447.

³ See c. xv. f.

⁴ See c. iii. 2 and note.

⁵ C. Fulvius Plautianus, prefect of the guard. For an account of his great power and his influence over Severus see Dio, lxxv. 14-15. He received the *ornamenta consularia* (see note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7), and was consul in 203.

SEVERUS XIV. 2-7

the more humble walks of life, not to speak of those whom the fury of battle had consumed.

After this, wishing to ingratiate himself with the people, he took the postal service¹ out of private hands and transferred its cost to the privy-purse. Then he caused the senate to give Bassianus Antoninus the title of Caesar and grant him the imperial insignia.² Next, when called away by the rumour of²⁰¹ a Parthian war,³ he set up at his own expense statues in honour of his father, mother, grandfather and first wife.⁴ He had been very friendly with Plautianus;⁵ but, on learning his true character, he conceived such an aversion to him as even to declare him a public^{ca. 203-4} enemy, overthrow his statues,⁶ and make him famous throughout the entire world for the severity of his punishment, the chief reason for his anger being that Plautianus had set up his own statue among the statues of Severus' kinsmen and connections. He revoked the punishment which had been imposed upon the people of Palestine⁷ on Niger's account. Later, he again entered into friendly relations with Plautianus, and after entering the city in his company like one who celebrates an ovation,⁸ he went up to the Capitol, although in the course of time he killed him. He bestowed the toga virilis on his younger son,

⁶ This incident is described quite differently in Dio, lxxv. 16, 2; apparently, an order to melt some of the bronze statues of Plautianus gave rise to the belief that he had been disgraced.

⁷ See c. ix. 5.

⁸ A minor triumph, in which the general rode through the city instead of driving a chariot. It was celebrated in case the war had not been formally declared, or the vanquished was not a recognized *hostis*, or the victory had been bloodless; see Gellius, v. 6, 21.

SEVERUS

7 Getae minori filio togam virilem dedit, maiori Plau-
 8 tiani filiam uxorem iunxit. ii qui hostem publicum
 Plautianum dixerant deportati sunt. ita omnium
 10 rerum semper quasi naturali lege mutatio est. filios
 dein consules designavit. Getam fratrem extulit.
 11 profectus dehinc ad bellum Parthicum est, edito
 12 gladiatorio munere et congiario populo dato. multos
 inter haec causis vel veris vel simulatis occidit,
 13 damnabantur autem plerique, cur iocati essent, alii,
 cur tacuissent, alii, cur pleraque figurata¹ dixissent.
 ut "ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax,
 vere Severus".

XV. Erat sane in sermone vulgari Parthicum bel-
 lum adfectare Septimium Severum, gloriae cupiditate
 2 non aliqua necessitate deductum. traiecto denique
 exercitu a Brundisio continuato itinere venit in
 3 Syriam Parthosque summovit. sed postea in Syriam
 rediit, ita ut se pararet ac bellum Parthis inferret.
 4 inter haec Pescennianas reliquias Plautiano auctore
 persequabatur, ita ut nonnullos etiam ex amicis suis
 5 quasi vitae suae insidiatores appeteret. multos etiam,
 quasi Chaldaeos aut vates de sua salute consuluissent,

¹ *figurata* P ; *figurate* Peter.

¹ Fulvia Plautilla. The marriage took place in 202; she received the title of Augusta, which appears in inscriptions and on her coins (Cohen, iv², pp. 243 and 247 f.). When her father was assassinated in the Palace (see Dio, lxxvi. 4) in 205, she was banished; later on she was put to death.

² Apparently after Geta's death—by a public funeral and a statue in the Forum; see Dio, lxxvi. 2, 4.

³ The Parthians had entered Mesopotamia and were at

Geta, and he united his elder son in marriage with Plautianus' daughter.¹ Those who had declared Plautianus a public enemy were now driven into exile. Thus, as if by a law of nature, do all things ever shift and change. Soon thereafter he appointed his sons to the consulship; also he greatly honoured 205 his brother Geta.² Then, after giving a gladiatorial show and bestowing largess upon the people, he set out for the Parthian war. Many men meanwhile were put to death, some on true and some on trumped-up charges. Several were condemned because they had spoken in jest, others because they had not spoken at all, others again because they had cried out many things with double meaning, such as "Behold an emperor worthy of his name—Pertinacious in very truth, in very truth Severe".

XV. It was commonly rumoured, to be sure, that in planning a war on the Parthians, Septimius Severus was influenced rather by a desire for glory than by any real necessity.³ Finally, he transported his army from Brundisium, reached Syria without breaking his voyage, and forced the Parthians to retreat.⁴ After that, however, he returned to Syria in order to make preparations to carry on an offensive war against the Parthians. In the meantime, on the advice of Plautianus, he hunted down the last survivors of Pescennius' revolt, and he even went so far as to bring charges against several of his own friends on the ground that they were plotting to kill him. He put numerous others to death on the charge of having asked Chaldeans or soothsayers how long he was

tacking Nisibis, the seat of Severus' operations in his former campaign; see note to c. ix. 9.

⁴ *i.e.* from Nisibis.

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interemit, praecipue suspectans¹ unumquemque idoneum imperio, cum ipse parvulos adhuc filios haberet idque dici ab his vel crederet vel audiret, 6 qui sibi augurabantur imperium. denique cum occisi essent nonnulli, Severus se excusabat et post eorum mortem negabat fieri iussisse quod factum est. quod 7 de Laeto praecipue Marius Maximus dicit. cum soror sua Leptitana ad eum venisset vix Latine loquens, & de illa multum imperator erubesceret, dato filio eius lato clavo atque ipsi multis muneribus redire mulierem in patriam praecepit, et quidem cum filio, qui brevi² vita defunctus est.

XVI. Aestate igitur iam exeunte Parthiam ingressus Ctesiphontem pulso rege pervenit et cepit hiemali prope tempore, quod in illis regionibus melius per hiemem bella tractantur, cum herbarum³ radicibus milites viverent atque inde morbos aegritudinesque 2 contraherent. quare cum obsistentibus Parthis, fluente quoque per insuetudinem cibi alvo militum, longius ire non posset, tamen perstitit et oppidum cepit et regem fugavit et plurimos interemit et 3 Parthicum nomen meruit. ob hoc⁴ etiam filium eius

¹ *suspectans* Casaubon, Peter²; *suspectos* P; *suspectus* Salmasius, Peter¹. ² *quibus* seui P. ³ *herbarum* Egnatius, Peter¹; *culparum* P; † *culparum* Peter²; *caeparum* Kellerbauer. ⁴ *ob hoc* Ed. princeps, Peter¹; *ob* P; *ideo* Peter².

¹ His legate in his former campaign and the defender of Nisibis against the Parthians; see notes to c. xv. 1-2. He was put to death during the siege of Hatra, which followed the capture of Ctesiphon; see Dio, lxxv. 10, 3.

² See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

destined to live ; and he was especially suspicious of anyone who seemed qualified for the imperial power, for his sons were still very young, and he believed or had heard that this fact was being observed by those who were seeking omens regarding their own prospects of the throne. Eventually, however, when several had been put to death, Severus disclaimed all responsibility, and after their death denied that he had given orders to do what had been done. Marius Maximus says that this was particularly true in the case of Laetus.¹ His sister from Leptis once came to see him, and, since she could scarcely speak Latin, made the emperor blush for her hotly. And so, after giving the broad stripe² to her son and many presents to the woman herself, he sent her home again, and also her son, who died a short time afterwards.

XVI. When the summer was well-nigh over, Severus invaded Parthia, defeated the king, and came 198 to Ctesiphon ; and about the beginning of the winter season he took the city. For indeed in those regions it is better to wage war during the winter, although the soldiers live on the roots of the plants and so contract various ills and diseases. For this reason then, although he could make no further progress, since the Parthian army was blocking the way and his men were suffering from diarrhoea because of the unfamiliar food, he nevertheless held his ground, took the city, put the king to flight, slew a great multitude, and gained the name Parthicus.³ For this feat, likewise, the soldiers declared his son,

¹ Parthicus Maximus ; this cognomen appears in his inscriptions and on his coins from 198 onward. On his previous cognomina see note to c. ix. 10.

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Bassianum Antoninum, qui Caesar appellatus iam fuerat, annum xiii agentem participem imperii
 4 dixerunt milites. Getam quoque, minorem filium, Caesarem dixerunt, eundem Antoninum, ut plerique
 5 in litteras tradunt, appellantes. harum appellationum causa donativum militibus largissimum dedit, concessa omni praeda oppidi Parthici, quod milites
 6 quaerebant. inde in Syriam rediit victor, et Parthicum¹ deferentibus sibi patribus triumphum idcirco recusavit, quod consistere in curru adfectus articulari morbo
 7 non posset. filio sane concessit, ut triumpharet; cui senatus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo.
 8 Dein cum Antiochiam transisset, data virili toga filio maiori secum eum consulem designavit, et statim
 9 in Syria consulatum inierunt. post hoc dato stipendio
 XVII. cumlatiore militibus Alexandriam petiit. in itinere Palaestinis plurima iura fundavit. Iudaeos fieri sub
 gravi poena vetuit. idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.
 2 deinde Alexandrinis ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant, uno

¹ *parthicus* P.

¹ He was acclaimed Augustus by the soldiers and received the tribunician power from Severus. The date was prior to the 3rd May, 198, since he is called Augustus in an African inscription of that date; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 2465 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 2485.

² Cf. c. x. 3 and xiv. 3.

³ He is called *Nobilissimus Caesar* in inscriptions from 198 onward.

⁴ See note to c. x. 5.

⁵ Ctesiphon. The sack of the city is also mentioned in Dio, lxxv. 9, 4.

⁶ But not until after two unsuccessful sieges of Hatra in Mesopotamia; see Dio, lxxv. 10-12.

Bassianus Antoninus, co-emperor;¹ he had already been named Caesar² and was now in his thirteenth year. And to Geta, his younger son, they gave the name Caesar,³ and called him in addition Antoninus,⁴ as several men relate in their writings. To celebrate the bestowal of these names Severus gave the soldiers an enormous donative, none other, in truth, than liberty to plunder the Parthian capital,⁵ a privilege for which they had been clamouring. He then returned victorious to Syria.⁶ But when the senators offered him a triumph for the Parthian campaign, he declined it because he was so afflicted with gout that he was unable to stand upright in his chariot. Notwithstanding this, he gave permission that his son should celebrate a triumph; for the senate had decreed to him a triumph over Judaea because of the successes achieved by Severus in Syria.⁷

Next, when he had reached Antioch, he bestowed the toga virilis upon his elder son and appointed him consul as colleague to himself; and without further delay, while still in Syria, the two entered upon their consulship. XVII. After this, having²⁰² first raised his soldiers' pay, he turned his steps toward Alexandria, and while on his way thither he conferred numerous rights upon the communities of Palestine.⁸ He forbade conversion to Judaism under heavy penalties and enacted a similar law in regard to the Christians. He then gave the Alexandrians the privilege of a local senate, for they were still without any public council, just as they had been under their native kings,⁹ and were obliged to be content with

⁷ As Caracalla was only twelve years old it is hardly likely that he won a victory in person.

⁸ Cf. c. xiv. 6.

⁹ The Ptolemaic dynasty.

SEVERUS

3 iudice contenti, quem¹ Caesar dedisset. multa prae-
4 terea his iura mutavit. iucundam sibi peregrinationem
hanc propter religionem dei Serapidis et propter
rerum antiquarum cognitionem et propter novitatem
animalium vel locorum² fuisse Severus ipse postea
semper ostendit. nam et Memphim et Memnonen
et pyramides et labyrinthum diligenter inspexit.

5 Et quoniam longum est minora persequi, huius
magnifica illa: quod victo et occiso Iuliano praec-
torianas cohortes exactoravit, Pertinacem contra
voluntatem militum in deos rettulit, Salvii³ Iuliani
6 decreta iussit aboleri; quod non obtinuit. denique
cognomentum Pertinacis non tam ex sua voluntate
7 quam ex⁴ morum parsimonia videtur habuisse. nam
et infinita multorum caede crudelior habitus et, cum
quidam ex hostibus eidem se suppliciter obtulisset
atque dixisset⁵ illi "quid facturus esses?"⁶, non

¹ om. in P¹, added in P corr. ² bello eorum P. ³ saluti P.
⁴ quam ex P; atque Peter. ⁵ obtulisset atque dixisset
Peter²; obtulissetque dixisset P; obtulisset dixissetque Peter.¹
⁶ illi quid facturus esses Mommsen; ille quod facturus esset
P; ille . . . quod facturus esset Peter.

¹ The *uridicus Alexandriae*. Augustus had refused to allow Alexandria to have a local senate; see Dio, li. 17, 2.

² The famous "singing Memnon" at Thebes, a colossal statue of Amenophis III.

³ In the Fayûm in Middle Egypt. A description of it is given by Herodotus, iii. 148.

⁴ This section of the biography (xvii. 5—xix. 4) bears a close resemblance, often in the actual wording, to Victor, *de Caesaribus*, xx., and in some passages it seems to be a mere abbreviation of Victor's narrative; see Intro., p. xxii.

⁵ See note to c. vi. 11.

⁶ Cf. c. vii. 8; *Pert.*, xiv. 10.

⁷ In both this passage and the corresponding sentence in Victor (*Caes.*, xx. 1) there seems to be a confusion between

SEVERUS XVII. 3-7

the single governor appointed by Caesar.¹ Besides this, he changed many of their laws. In after years Severus himself continually avowed that he had found this journey very enjoyable, because he had taken part in the worship of the god Serapis, had learned something of antiquity, and had seen unfamiliar animals and strange places. For he visited Memphis, Memnon,² the Pyramids, and the Labyrinth,³ and examined them all with great care.

But since it is tedious to mention in detail the less important matters, only the most noteworthy of his deeds are here related.⁴ He discharged the cohorts of the guard⁵ after Julianus was defeated and slain; he deified Pertinax against the wishes of the army;⁶ and he gave orders that the decisions of Salvius Julianus should be annulled,⁷ though this he did not succeed in accomplishing. Lastly, he was given the surname Pertinax, not so much by his own wish,⁸ it seems, as because of his frugal ways.⁹ In fact, he was considered somewhat cruel, both on account of his innumerable executions¹⁰ and because, when one of his enemies came before him on a certain occasion to crave forgiveness and said "What would you have done?"¹¹ Severus was not softened by so

Salvius Julianus and his *Edictum Perpetuum* (see note to *Hadr.*, xviii. 1), on the one hand, and Didius Julianus and his *Acta*, on the other. The *Acta* were doubtless rescinded, but the *Edictum* remained in force.

⁸ But see c. vii. 9 and note. He assumed the name in order to strengthen his own position.

⁹ Cf. c. xix. 7-8. Pertinax was famous for his frugality; see *Pert.*, viii. 9-11; xii. 2-6.

¹⁰ See c. xii-xiii.

¹¹ The story is preserved in complete form in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 11.

SEVERUS

- emollitus¹ tam prudente dicto interfici eum iussit.
⁸ fuit praeterea delendarum cupidus factionum. prope
 XVIII. a nullo congressu digressus² nisi victor. Persarum
 regem Abgarum subegit. Arabas in dicionem accepit.
² Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam, quod
 maximum eius imperii decus est, muro per trans-
 versam insulam ducto utrimque³ ad finem Oceani
 munivit. unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.
³ Tripolim, unde oriundus erat, contensis bellicosissimis
 gentibus securissimam reddidit, ac populo Romano
 diurnum⁴ oleum gratuitum et fecundissimum in
 aeternum donavit.
⁴ Idem cum implacabilis delictis fuit, tum ad
 erigendos industrios quosque iudicii singularis.
⁵ philosophiae ac dicendi studiis satis deditus, doctrinae
⁶ quoque nimis cupidus. latronum ubique hostis.
 vitam suam privatam publicamque ipse composuit ad
⁷ fidem, solum tamen vitium crudelitatis excusans. de
 hoc senatus ita iudicavit, illum aut nasci non debuisse

¹ so Peter²; *est emollitus* P, Peter.¹ ² inserted by Casaubon.
³ *utrumque* P. ⁴ *diurnum* Casaubon; *diuturnam* P.

¹ The ambiguity of this sentence is due to excessive compression of the original as preserved in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 13-14. The transition from the suppression of conspiracies to success in foreign wars is entirely omitted.

² Abgar IX., King of Osroene, who joined Severus on his Parthian campaign, gave his sons as hostages and assumed the name Septimius; see Herodian, iii. 9, 2. According to Herodian, this happened in connection with Severus' second campaign, in 198, but it has been maintained that the incident should be connected with the first campaign, in 195.

³ Cf. c. ix. 9 and note.

⁴ This does not refer to the construction of a new wall, but to the restoration either of the wall of Hadrian (see *Hadr.*, xi. 2) or of the earthen rampart of Pius (see *Pius*, v. 4.)

SEVERUS XVII. 8—XVIII. 7

sensible a speech, but ordered him to be put to death. He was determined to crush out conspiracies. He seldom departed from a battle except as victor.¹ XVIII. He defeated Abgarus, the king of the Persians.² He extended his sway over the Arabs. He forced the Adiabeni to give tribute.³ He built a wall⁴ across the island of Britain from sea to sea, and thus made the province secure—the crowning glory of his reign; in recognition thereof he was given the name Britannicus.⁵ He freed Tripolis,²¹⁰ the region of his birth, from fear of attack by crushing sundry warlike tribes. And he bestowed upon the Roman people, without cost, a most generous daily allowance of oil in perpetuity.⁶

He was implacable toward the guilty; at the same time he showed singular judgment in advancing the efficient. He took a fair interest in philosophy and oratory, and showed a great eagerness for learning in general. He was relentless everywhere toward brigands.⁷ He wrote a trustworthy account of his own life, both before and after he became emperor,⁸ in which the only charge that he tried to explain away was that of cruelty. In regard to this charge, the senate declared that Severus either should never have

⁵ Britannicus Maximus; it appears in his inscriptions of 210. The cognomen *Britannicus* is found on his coins of 211, bearing the legend *Victoriae Britannicae*; see Cohen, iv², p. 75 f., no. 722 f.

⁶ Cf. c. xxiii. 2; *Alex.*, xxii. 2. Previous to this time oil, like grain, had been sold by the government at low prices, but from now on until after the time of Constantine it was given to the populace.

⁷ Especially one famous brigand named Bulla Felix, who with a band of six hundred men terrorized Italy for two years; see Dio, lxxvi. 10.

⁸ See note to c. iii. 2.

SEVERUS

aut mori, quod et nimis crudelis et nimis utilis rei
 8 publicae videretur. domi tamen minus cautus, qui
 uxorem Iuliam famosam adulteriis tenuit, ream ¹ etiam
 9 coniurationis. idem, cum pedibus aeger bellum
 moraretur, idque milites anxie ferrent eiusque filium
 Bassianum, qui una erat, Augustum fecissent, tolli se
 atque in tribunal ferri iussit, adesse deinde omnes
 10 tribunos centuriones duces et cohortes quibus auc-
 toribus id acciderat, sisti deinde filium, qui Augusti
 nomen acceperat. cumque animadverti in omnes auc-
 tores facti praeter filium iuberet rogareturque ² omni-
 bus ante tribunal prostratis, caput manu contingens ait:
 11 "Tandem sentitis caput imperare, non pedes". huius
 dictum est, cum eum ex humili per litterarum et
 militiae officia ad imperium plurimis gradibus fortuna
 duxisset: "Omnia," inquit, "fui et nihil expedit."

XIX. Perit Eboraci in Britannia, subactis gentibus
 quae Britanniae videbantur infestae, anno imperii
 2 xviii, morbo gravissimo exstinctus iam senex. re-

¹ ream Salmasius; eam P. ² rogareturque Peter¹;
 rogareturquem P; rogareturque <uenia>m Klein, Peter²,
 but see use of rogatus in *Pesc. Nig.*, x. 5.

¹ There is no suggestion in Dio that she was guilty of either
 adultery or conspiracy. Both charges are probably due to the
 machinations of Plautianus, who tried to poison Severus'
 mind against her; see Dio, lxxv. 15, 6; lxxviii. 24, 1. The
 statement of an incestuous relationship between her and
 Caracalla found in the *Historia Augusta* (c. xxi. 7 and *Carac.*,
 x. 1-4) and in other writings of a late date (e.g. Victor, *Caes.*,
 xxi.) represents a definite historical tradition composed by a
 traducer of Julia.

SEVERUS XVIII. 8—XIX. 2

been born at all or never should have died, because, on the one hand, he had proved too cruel, and on the other, too useful to the state. For all that, he was less careful in his home-life, for he retained his wife Julia even though she was notorious for her adulteries and also guilty of plotting against him.¹ On one occasion,² when he so suffered from gout as to delay a campaign, his soldiers in their dismay conferred on his son Bassianus, who was with him at the time, the title of Augustus. Severus, however, had himself lifted up and carried to the tribunal, summoned all the tribunes, centurions, generals, and cohorts responsible for this occurrence, and after commanding his son, who had received the name Augustus, to stand up, gave orders that all the authors of this deed, save only his son, should be punished. When they threw themselves before the tribunal and begged for pardon, Severus touched his head with his hand and said, "Now at last you know that the head does the ruling, and not the feet". And even after fortune had led him step by step through the pursuits of study and of warfare even to the throne, he used to say: "Everything have I been, and nothing have I gained".

XIX. In the eighteenth year of his reign, now an old man and overcome by a most grievous disease, he died at Eboracum in Britain, after subduing⁴ various tribes that seemed a possible menace to the

Feb.,
211

²The following incident is related in almost exactly the same words in Victor, *Caes.*, xx. 25-26. It probably occurred during the war in Britain, where, according to Dio, lxxvi. 14, Caracalla made various plots against his father. The title of Augustus had been conferred on Caracalla some years previously in Mesopotamia; see note to c. xvi. 8.

SEVERUS

liquit filios duos, Antoninum Bassianum et Getam, cui et ipsi in honorem Marci Antonini nomen imposuit.
3 inlatus¹ sepulchro Marci Antonini, quem ex omnibus imperatoribus tantum coluit, ut et Commodum in divos referret et Antonini nomen omnibus deinceps
4 quasi Augusti adscribendum putaret. ipse a senatu agentibus liberis, qui² ei funus amplissimum exhibuerunt, inter divos est relatus.

5 Opera publica praecipua eius exstant Septizonium et Thermae Severianae. eiusdemque etiam Septimianae³ in Transtiberina regione ad portam nominis sui, quarum forma intercidens statim usum publicum invidit.

6 Iudicium de eo post mortem magnum omnium fuit, maxime quod diu nec a filiis eius boni aliquid rei publicae venit, et postea invadentibus multis rem publicam res Romana praedonibus direptui fuit.

¹ *inlegatus* P. ² *liberisque* P. ³ *Septimianae* Zange-
meister; *eius denique etiam ianae* P; *eiusdemque etiam ianusae*
Peter; *aliae* Hirschfeld, acc. by Peter², *Praef.*, p. xlii.

¹ Especially the Caledonii and the Maetae, the former of whom lived north of the "wall which divides the island into two parts," the latter south of it; see Dio, lxxvi. 12, 1.

² See note to c. x. 5.

³ *i.e.* the Tomb of Hadrian (see note to *Hadr.*, xix. 11), in which Marcus and the other members of the house of the Antonines were buried.

⁴ See c. xi. 3.

⁵ Commemorated on coins with the legends *Divo Severo Pio* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iv², p. 12 f., nos. 80-91.

⁶ This was a three-storied portico at the south-eastern corner of the Palatine Hill. Its purpose was to give an orna-

SEVERUS XIX. 3-6

province.¹ He left two sons, Antoninus Bassianus and Geta, also named by him Antoninus² in honour of Marcus. Severus was laid in the tomb of Marcus Antoninus,³ whom of all the emperors he revered so greatly that he even deified Commodus⁴ and held that all emperors should thenceforth assume the name Antoninus as they did that of Augustus. At the demand of his sons, who gave him a most splendid funeral, he was added to the deified.⁵

The principal public works of his now in existence are the Septizonium⁶ and the Baths of Severus.⁷ He also built the Septimian Baths in the district across the Tiber near the gate named after him,⁸ but the aqueduct fell down immediately after its completion and the people were unable to make any use of them.

After his death the opinion that all men held of him was high indeed; for, in the long period that followed, no good came to the state from his sons, and after them, when many invaders came pouring in upon the state, the Roman Empire became a thing for free-booters to plunder.

mental front to the Palace at the place where it faced the Appian Way; see c. xxiv. 3.

⁷ According to an ancient description of Rome dating from the time of Constantine (the *Notitia Regionum*), these baths were in the First Region, the southernmost part of the city. All trace of them, however, has disappeared, and they may have been absorbed in the *Thermae Antoninianae*, i.e., Baths of Caracalla; see *Carac.*, ix. 4 f.

⁸ The Porta Septimiana, where the modern Via della Lungara passes through the Wall of Aurelian, probably corresponds with the site of this gate. The *Thermae Septimianae* (if Zangemeister's reading be correct) must have been in this neighbourhood. The name seems to be preserved in the expression *il Settignano*, which was formerly applied to the southern end of the Via della Lungara.

SEVERUS

7 Hic tam exiguis vestibus usus est ut vix et¹ tunica
eius aliquid purpurae haberet, cum hirta chlamyde
8umeros velaret.² cibi parcissimus, leguminis patri
avidus, vini aliquando cupidus, carnis frequenter
9ignarus. ipse decorus, ingens, promissa barba, cano
capite et crispo, vultu reverendus, canorus voce, sed
10 Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans, ac
multum post mortem amatus vel invidia deposita vel
crudelitatis metu.

XX. Legissee me apud Aelium³ Maurum Phlegontis
Hadriani libertum memini Septimium Severum in-
moderatissime, cum moreretur, laetatum, quod duos
Antoninos pari imperio rei publicae relinqueret,
exemplo Pii, qui Verum et Marcum Antoninos per
2 adoptionem filios rei publicae reliquit, hoc melius
quod ille filios per adoptionem, hic per se genitos
rectores Romanae rei publicae daret; Antoninum
scilicet Bassianum quidem ex priore matrimonio
3susceperat et Getam de Iulia genuerat. sed illum
multum spes fefellit; nam unum parricidium, al-
terum sui mores rei publicae inviderunt. sanctumque
4 illud nomen in nullo fere diu bene mansit. et re-
putanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem prope⁴

¹ *vix et* Salmasius; *vixit* P. ² *valeret* P. ³ *Helius*
P, Peter. ⁴ *neminem prope* Edit. princeps, Peter¹; *nemi-*
nem facere prope P¹, Peter²; *neminem fere* [*prope*] Salmasius.

¹ Cf. c. xvii. 6. Dio also comments on the simplicity of
Severus' mode of life; see lxxvi. 17.

² See *Hadr.*, xvi. i.

³ Geta received the title of Augustus in 209; see his coins
of 209, Cohen, iv², p. 266 f., nos. 129-131.

⁴ This statement is made in other rhetorical portions of
the *Historia Augusta* (*Carac.*, x, 1; *Geta*, vii, 3) and in

His clothing was of the plainest; indeed, even his tunic had scarcely any purple on it, while he covered his shoulders with a shaggy cloak. He was very sparing in his diet,¹ was fond of his native beans, liked wine at times, and often went without meat. In person he was large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was gray and curly, his face was such as to inspire respect. His voice was clear, but retained an African accent even to his old age. After his death he was much beloved, for then all envy of his power or fear of his cruelty had vanished.

XX. I can remember reading in Aelius Maurus, the freedman of that Phlegon² who was Hadrian's freedman, that Septimius Severus rejoiced exceedingly at the time of his death, because he was leaving two Antonini to rule the state with equal powers,³ herein following the example of Pius, who left to the state Verus and Marcus Antoninus, his two sons by adoption; and that he rejoiced all the more, because, while Pius had left only adopted sons, he was leaving sons of his own blood to rule the Roman state, namely Antoninus Bassianus, whom he had begotten from his first marriage,⁴ and Geta, whom Julia had borne him. In these high hopes, however, he was grievously deceived; for the state was denied the one by murder,⁵ the other⁶ by his own character. And in scarcely any case did that revered name⁷ long or creditably survive. Indeed, when I reflect on the matter, Diocletian Augustus, it is quite clear to me

historians of the later period (*e.g.*, Victor, *Caes.*, xxi., 3). It is not only untrue, but it contradicts the statement of *Sev.*, ii. 9 and iv. 2.

⁵ Geta, murdered in 212; see note to c. xxi. 7.

⁶ Bassianus.

⁷ *i.e.*, Antoninus.

SEVERUS

magnorum virorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse
 5 satis claret. denique aut sine liberis veris ¹ interierunt
 aut tales habuerunt plerique, ut melius fuerit de
 XXI. rebus humanis sine posteritate discedere. et ut
 ordiamur a Romulo, hic nihil liberorum reliquit, ni-
 hil Numa Pompilius, quod utile posset esse rei
 publicae. quid Camillus? num sui similes liberos
 habuit? quid Scipio? quid Catones qui magni
 2 fuerunt? iam vero quid de Homero, Demosthene,
 Vergilio, Crispo, Terentio,² Plauto ceterisque aliis
 loquar? quid de Caesare? quid de Tullio, cui soli
 3 melius fuerat liberos non habere? quid de Augusto,
 qui nec adoptivum bonum filium habuit, cum illi
 eligendi potestas fuisset ex omnibus? falsus est etiam
 ipse Traianus in suo munice ac nepote deligendo.
 4 sed ut omittamus adoptivos, ne nobis Antonini Pius
 et Marcus, numina rei publicae, occurrant, veniamus
 5 ad genitos. quid Marco felicius fuisset, si Commodum
 6 non reliquisset heredem? quid Severo Septimio,
 si Bassianum nec genuisset? qui statim insimulatum
 fratrem insidiarum contra se cogitatarum parricidalis
 7 etiam figmento interemit; qui novercam suam—et
 quid novercam? matrem quin immo, in cuius sinu
 8 Getam filium eius occiderat, uxorem duxit; qui

¹ *ueris* Salmasius; *uiri* P.

² So Peter; *et Terentio* P.

¹ Scipio Africanus, the younger, who seems to have left no children.

² C. Sallustius Crispus, the historian.

³ Cicero's son had none of his father's ability; he had, moreover, a bad reputation for drunkenness.

⁴ Hadrian. This sentiment represents the tradition hostile to Hadrian which grew up after his death as a result of the enmity felt for him by some of the senators.

that practically no great man has left the world a son of real excellence or value. In short, most of them either died without issue of their own, or had such children that it would have been better for humanity had they departed without offspring. XXI. As for Romulus, to begin with him, he left no children who might have proved useful to the state, nor did Numa Pompilius. What of Camillus? Did he have children like himself? What of Scipio?¹ What of the Catos, who were so distinguished? Indeed, for that matter, what shall I say of Homer, Demosthenes, Vergil, Crispus,² Terence, Plautus, and such as they? What of Caesar? What of Tully?—for whom, particularly, it had been better had he had no son.³ What of Augustus, who could not get a worthy son even by adoption, though he had the whole world to choose from? Even Trajan was deceived when he chose for his heir his fellow-townsmen and nephew.⁴ But let us except sons by adoption, lest our thoughts turn to those two guardian spirits of the state, Pius and Marcus Antoninus, and let us proceed to sons by birth. What could have been more fortunate for Marcus than not to have left Commodus as his heir? What more fortunate for Septimius Severus than not to have even begotten Bassianus?—a man who speedily charged his brother with contriving plots against him—a murderous falsehood—and put him to death; who took his own stepmother to wife⁵—stepmother did I say?—nay rather the mother on whose bosom he had slain Geta, her son;⁶ who slew, because

¹ See note to c. xviii. 8.

² See *Carac.*, ii. 4, and, for a detailed description of the murder, Dio, lxxvii. 2.

SEVERUS

Papinianum, iuris asyllum et doctrinae legalis thesaurum, quod parricidium excusare noluisset, occidit, et praefectum quidem, ne homini per se et per scientiam suam magno deesset et dignitas. denique ut alia omittam, ex huius moribus factum puto, ut Severus tristior vir ad omnia, immo etiam crudelior pius et dignus deorum altaribus duceretur. quidam quidem divinam³ Sallustii orationem, qua Micipsa filios ad pacem hortatur, ingravatus morbo misisset filio dicitur maiori. idque frustra⁴ . . . et hominem tantum valitudine. vixit denique in odio populi diu Antoninus, nomenque illud sanctum diu minus amatum est, quamvis et vestimenta populo dederit, unde Caracallus est dictus, et thermas magnificentissimas fecerit. exstat sane Romae Severi porticus gesta eius exprimens a filio, quantum plurimi docent, structa.

XXII. Signa mortis eius haec fuerunt : ipse somniavit quattuor aquilis et gemmato curru praevolante nescio qua ingenti humana specie ad caelum esse raptum ; cumque raperetur, octoginta et novem numeros explicuisse, ultra quot annos ne unum quidem annum vixit, nam ad imperium senex venit. cumque positus

¹ *regalis* P. ² *om.* in P. ³ *diu immo* P. ⁴ *frustra* P ; lacuna est. by Casaubon.

¹ See *Carac.*, iv. 1 and viii.

² See *Carac.*, ix. 7.

² Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 2.

⁴ See *Carac.*, ix. 4 f.

he refused to absolve him of his brother's murder,¹ Papinian, a sanctuary of law and treasure-house of jurisprudence, who had been raised to the office of prefect that a man who had become illustrious through his own efforts and his learning might not lack official rank. In short, not to mention other things, I believe that it was because of this man's character that Severus, a gloomier man in every way, nay even a crueller one, was considered righteous and worthy of the worship of a god. Once indeed, it is said, Severus, when laid low by sickness, sent to his elder son that divine speech in Sallust in which Micipsa urges his sons to the ways of peace.² In vain, however. . . . For a long time, finally, the people hated Antoninus, and that venerable name was long less beloved, even though he gave the people clothing (whence he got his name Caracallus³) and built the most splendid baths.⁴ There is a colonnade of Severus at Rome,⁵ I might mention, depicting his exploits, which was built by his son, or so most men say.

XXII. The death of Severus was foreshadowed by the following events: he himself dreamed that he was snatched up to the heavens in a jewelled car drawn by four eagles, whilst some vast shape, I know not what, but resembling a man, flew on before. And while he was being snatched up, he counted out the numbers eighty and nine,⁶ and beyond this number of years he did not live so much as one, for he was an old man when he came to the throne. And then, after he

¹ Also mentioned in *Carac.*, ix. 6. Its site is unknown.

² This same number of the years of his life is given in *Pesc. Nig.*, v. 1, but it is in direct contradiction with the positive statement in c. i. 3 that he was born in 146. According to Dio's computation, he was born in 145; see lxxvi. 17, 4.

SEVERUS

esset in circulo ingenti aereo, diu solus et destitutus stetit, cum vereretur autem, ne praeceps rueret, a Iove se vocatum vidit atque inter Antoninos locatum. 3 die circensium cum tres Victoriolae more solito essent locatae gypseae cum palmis, media, quae ipsius nomine adscriptum orbem tenebat, vento icta de podio stans decidit et humi constitit; at quae Getae nomine inscripta erat, corrui et omnis conminuta est; illa vero quae Bassiani titulum praeferebat, 4 amissa palma venti turbine vix constitit. post murum apud Luguvallum visum ¹ in Britannia cum ad proximam mansionem rediret non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, volvens ² animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Aethiops quidam e numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae et celebratorum semper iocorum, cum corona e cupressu facta eidem 5 occurrit. quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset, et coloris eius tactus omine ³ et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur ioci causa: "Totum fuisti, ⁴ totum 6 vicisti, iam deus esto victor". et in civitatem veniens cum rem divinam vellet facere, primum ad Bellonae templum ductus est errore haruspici rustici, deinde

¹ So Peter²; *maurum apud uallum missum* P, Peter¹.
² *uolens* P¹. ³ *hominis* P¹. ⁴ *fuisti* P, Peter¹; *fudisti* Hirschfeld, Peter².

¹ The *podium* was a platform close to the arena, occupied by members of the imperial family.

² Now Carlisle.

³ Cf. c. xviii. 11.

had been placed in a huge circle in the air, for a long time he stood alone and desolate, until finally, when he began to fear that he might fall headlong, he saw himself summoned by Jupiter and placed among the Antonines. Again, on the day of the circus-games, when three plaster figures of Victory were set up in the customary way, with palms in their hands, the one in the middle, which held a sphere inscribed with his name, struck by a gust of wind, fell down from the balcony¹ in an upright position and remained on the ground in this posture; while the one on which Geta's name was inscribed was dashed down and completely shattered, and the one which bore Bassianus' name lost its palm and barely managed to keep its place, such was the whirling of the wind. On another occasion, when he was returning to his nearest quarters from an inspection of the wall at Luguwallum² in Britain, at a time when he had not only proved victorious but had concluded a perpetual peace, just as he was wondering what omen would present itself, an Ethiopian soldier, who was famous among buffoons and always a notable jester, met him with a garland of cypress-boughs. And when Severus in a rage ordered that the man be removed from his sight, troubled as he was by the man's ominous colour and the ominous nature of the garland, the Ethiopian by way of jest cried, it is said, "You have been all things,³ you have conquered all things, now, O conqueror, be a god". And when on reaching the town he wished to perform a sacrifice, in the first place, through a misunderstanding on the part of the rustic soothsayer, he was taken to the Temple of Bellona, and, in the second place, the victims provided him were black. And then, when

SEVERUS

7 hostiae furvae sunt adplicitae. quod cum esset as-
pernatus atque ad Palatium se reciperet, negligentia
ministrorum nigrae hostiae et usque ad limen domus
Palatinae imperatorem secutae sunt.

XXIII. Sunt per plurimas civitates opera eius in-
signia. magnum vero illud in vita¹ eius, quod Romae
omnes aedes publicas, quae vitio temporum labeban-
tur, instauravit nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto,
2 servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum. moriens
septem annorum canonem, ita ut cotidiana septuaginta
quinque milia modium expendi possent, reliquit; olei
vero tantum, ut per quinquennium non solum urbis²
usibus, sed et totius Italiae, quae oleo eget, sufficeret.
3 Ultima verba eius dicuntur haec fuisse: "Turbatam
rem publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Bri-
tannis relinquo, senex et pedibus aeger firmum im-
perium Antoninis meis relinquens, si boni erunt,
4 imbecillum, si mali". iussit deinde signum tribuno
dari "laboremus," quia Pertinax, quando in imperium
5 adscitus est, signum dederat "militemus". Fortunam
deinde regiam, quae comitari principes et in cubi-
culis poni solebat, geminare statuerat, ut sacratissimum
6 simulacrum utrique relinqueret filiorum; sed cum
videret se perurgueri sub hora mortis, iussisse fertur

¹ *vita* Salmasius; *civitate* P.
om. in P.

² *urbis* add. by Egnatius,

¹ *i.e.*, the imperial residence in the provincial town.

² Cf. c. viii. 5.

³ See c. xviii. 3.

⁴ See *Pert.*, v. 7.

⁵ See *Pius*, xii. 5.

he abandoned the sacrifice in disgust and betook himself to the Palace,¹ through some carelessness on the part of the attendants the black victims followed him up to its very doors.

XXIII. In many communities there are public buildings erected by him which are famous, but particularly noteworthy among the achievements of his life was the restoration of all the public sanctuaries in Rome, which were then falling to ruin through the passage of time. And seldom did he inscribe his own name on these restorations or fail to preserve the names of those who built them. At his death he left a surplus of grain to the amount of seven years' tribute,² or enough to distribute seventy-five thousand pecks a day, and so much oil,³ indeed, that for five years there was plenty for the uses, not only of the city, but also for as much of Italy as was in need of it.

His last words, it is said, were these: "The state, when I received it, was harassed on every side; I leave it at peace, even in Britain; old now and with crippled feet, I bequeath to my two Antonini an empire which is strong, if they prove good, feeble, if they prove bad". After this, he issued orders to give the tribune the watchword "Let us toil," because Pertinax, when he assumed the imperial power, had given the word "Let us be soldiers".⁴ He then ordered a duplicate made of the royal statue of Fortune which was customarily carried about with the emperors and placed in their bedrooms,⁵ in order that he might leave this most holy statue to each of his sons; but later, when he realized that the hour of death was upon him, he gave instructions, they say, that the original should be placed in the bed-chambers

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3. Cum hepatumum: secret, nihil aliud cogitav
imus et ex Africa venientibus sumus opus accideret
nisi absente ea per- praefectum urbis medium sin
terum cum esset locatum, aditum Palatinis acerb
et est regium atrium, ab ea parte facere volumine p
hibetur. quod etiam post Alexander cum vel
facere, ab haruspibus dicitur esse prohibitus, c
hoc erigens non litaret.

oxyanthus P. Peter.

² ~~concedit~~ ~~quod~~ P.

¹ It was made of porphyry, according to Dio, lxxvi. 15, 4, *elephantus*, according to Herodian, iii. 15, 7.

SEVERUS XXIII. 7—XXIV. 5

of each of his sons, the co-emperors, on alternate days. As for this direction, Bassianus ignored it and then murdered his brother.

XXIV. His body was borne from Britain to Rome, and was everywhere received by the provincials with profound reverence. Some men say, however, that only a golden urn¹ containing Severus' ashes was so conveyed, and that this was laid in the tomb of the Antonines,² while Septimius himself was cremated where he died.

When he built the Septizonium³ he had no other thought than that his building should strike the eyes of those who came to Rome from Africa. It is said that he wished to make an entrance on this side of the Palatine mansion—the royal dwelling, that is—and he would have done so had not the prefect of the city planted his statue in the centre of it while he was away. Afterwards Alexander⁴ wished to carry out this plan, but he, it is said, was prevented by the soothsayers, for on making inquiry he obtained unfavourable omens.

² See c. xix. 3 and note.

³ See c. xix. 5 and note.

⁴ *i.e.*, Severus Alexander, the emperor.

PESCENNIUS NIGER

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Rarum atque difficile est ut, quos ¹ tyrannos aliorum victoria fecerit, bene mittantur in litteras, atque ideo vix omnia de his plene in monumentis atque analibus habentur. primum enim, quae magna sunt in eorum honorem ab scriptoribus depravantur, deinde alia supprimuntur, postremo non magna diligentia in eorum genere ac vita requiritur, cum satis sit audaciam eorum et bellum, in quo victi fuerint, ac poenam proferre.

3 Pescennius ergo Niger, ut alii tradunt, modicis parentibus, ut alii, nobilibus fuisse dicitur, patre Annio Fusco, matre Lampridia, avo curatore Aquini, ex quo ² familia originem ducebat; quod quidem dubium 4 etiam nunc habetur. hic eruditus mediocriter litteris, moribus ferox, divitiis inmodicus, vita parcus, 5 libidinis effrenatae ad omne genus cupiditatum. or-

¹ quod P.

² quo Closs; qua P, Peter.

¹ See note to *Marc.*, xi. 2.

PESCENNIUS NIGER

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. It is an unusual task and a difficult one to set down fairly in writing the lives of men who, through other men's victories, remained mere pretenders, and for this reason not all the facts concerning such men are preserved in our records and histories in full. For, in the first place, notable events that redound to their honour are distorted by historians; other events, in the second place, are suppressed; and, in the third place, no great care is bestowed upon inquiries into their ancestry and life, since it seems sufficient to recount their presumption, the battle in which they were overcome, and the punishment they suffered.

Pescennius Niger, then, was born of humble parentage, according to some, of noble, according to others. His father was Annius Fuscus, his mother Lampridia. His grandfather was the supervisor of Aquinum,¹ the town to which the family sought to trace its origin, though the fact is even now considered doubtful. As for Pescennius himself, he was passably well versed in literature, savage in disposition, immoderately wealthy, thrifty in his habits, and unbridled in indulgence in every manner of

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dines diu duxit multisque ducatus pervenit, ut exercitus Syriacos iussu Commodi regeret, suffragio maxime athletae qui Commodum strangulavit, ut omnia tunc fiebant.

II. Is postquam comperit occisum Commodum, Iulianum imperatorem appellatum eundemque iussu Severi et senatus occisum, Albinum etiam in Gallia sumpsisse nomen et ius¹ imperatoris, ab exercitibus Syriacis, quos regebat, appellatus est imperator, ut quidam dicunt, magis in Iuliani odium quam in aemulationem Severi. huic ob detestationem Iuliani primis imperii diebus ita Romae fautum est, a senatoribus dumtaxat, qui et Severum oderant, ut inter lapidationes execrationesque omnium illi feliciter optaretur, "illum principem superi et illum Augustum" populus adclamaret. Iulianum autem oderant populares, quod Pertinacem milites occidissent et illum imperatorem adversa populi voluntate appellassent. denique² ingentes ob hoc seditiones fuerunt. ad occidendum autem Nigrum primipilarem Iulianus miserat, stulte ad eum qui haberet exercitus et² se tueri³ posset; proinde quasi qualis libet imperator a primipilario

¹ et ius Salmasius, Lenze; eius P; eius del. by Peter.
² om. in P. ³ seueri P.

¹ But see c. vi. 6, where the contrary is stated emphatically.

² As chief centurion; see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.

³ The posts are referred to in the letter in c. iv. 4, as military tribuneships, and although this letter, like the others in the *Historia Augusta*, is fictitious, its statement in this instance is nearer the truth than that of the present sentence.

⁴ See *Com.*, xvii. 2.

⁵ As a matter of fact, this happened after Niger's revolt; see *Sev.*, x. 1 and notes.

passion.¹ For a long time he commanded in the ranks,² and finally, after holding many generalships,³ he reached the point where Commodus named him to command the armies in Syria, chiefly on the recommendation of the athlete who afterward strangled Commodus ;⁴ for so, at that time, were all appointments made.

II. And now, after he learned that Commodus had been murdered, that Julianus had been declared emperor, and then, by order of Severus and the senate, put to death, and that Albinus, furthermore, had assumed in Gaul the name and power of emperor,⁵ Pescennius was hailed imperator by the armies he commanded in Syria ;—though more out of aversion to Julianus, some say, than in rivalry of Severus. Even before this, during the first days of Julianus' reign, because of the dislike felt for the Emperor, Pescennius was so favoured at Rome, that even the senators, who hated Severus also, prayed for his success, while with showers of stones and general execrations⁶ the commons shouted " May the gods preserve him as Emperor, and him as Augustus ". For the mob hated Julianus because the soldiers had slain Pertinax and declared Julianus emperor contrary to their wishes ; and there was violent rioting on this account. Julianus, for his part, had sent a senior centurion to assassinate Niger⁷—a piece of folly, since the attempt was made against one who led an army and could protect himself, and as though, forsooth, any sort of emperor could be slain by a retired centurion ! With equal madness he sent out a

¹ See *Did. Jul.*, iv. 3 f.

⁷ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 1 ; *Sev.*, v. 8.

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5 posset occidi. eadem autem dementia etiam Severo
6 iam principi Iulianus successorem miserat. denique
etiam Aquilium centurionem notum caedibus ducum
miserat, quasi imperator tantus a centurione posset
7 occidi. par denique insania fuit, quod cum Severo
ex interdicto de imperio egisse fertur, ut iure videre-
tur principatum praevenisse.

III. Et de Pescennio Nigro iudicium populi ex eo
apparuit, quod, cum ludos circenses Iulianus Romae
daret, et indiscrete subsellia ¹ Circi Maximi repleta
essent, ingentique iniuria populi ² adfectus esset, per
omnes uno consensu Pescennius Niger ad tutelam
urbis est expetitus, odio, ut diximus, Iuliani et amore
2 occisi Pertinacis; cum quidem Iulianus dixisse fertur
neque sibi neque Pescennio longum imperium deberi,
sed Severo, qui magis esset odio habendus a senatori-
bus, militibus, provincialibus, popularibus. quod
probavit rei eventus.

3 Et Pescennius quidem Severo eo tempore quo
Lugdunensem provinciam regebat amicissimus fuit;
4 nam ipse missus erat ad comprehendendos desertores,
5 qui innumeri Gallias tunc vexabant. in quo officio
quod se honeste gessit, iucundissimus fuit Severo, ita
ut de eo ad Commodum Septimius referret, adserens
6 necessarium rei publicae virum. et revera in re

¹ *se subsellia P.* ² *populi Kellerbauer; populus P, Peter.*

¹ Cf. *Did. Jul.*, v. 7-8; *Sev.*, v. 8.

² Cf. *Did. Jul.*, iv. 7.

³ Cf. c. ii. 2.

⁴ Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 8.

⁵ See *Com.*, xvi. 2 and note.

successor for Severus when Severus had already become emperor; and lastly he sent the centurion Aquilius,¹ notorious as an assassin of generals, as if such an emperor could be slain by a centurion! It was similarly an act of insanity that he, according to report, dealt with Severus by issuing a proclamation forbidding him to seize the imperial power, so that he might seem to have established a prior claim to the empire by process of law!

III. What the people thought of Pescennius Niger is evident from the following: when Julianus gave circus-games at Rome, the people filled the seats of the Circus Maximus without distinction of rank, assailed him with much abuse, and then with one accord called for Pescennius Niger to protect the city²—partly out of hatred for Julianus, as we have said,³ and partly out of love for the slain Pertinax. On this occasion Julianus is reported to have said that neither he himself nor Pescennius was destined to rule for long, but rather Severus, though he it was who was more worthy of hatred from the senators, the soldiers, the provincials and the city-mob. And this proved to be the case.

Now Pescennius was on very friendly terms with Severus at the time that the latter was governor of the province of Lugdunensis.⁴ For he was sent to apprehend a body of deserters who were then ravaging Gaul in great numbers,⁵ and because he conducted himself in this task with credit, he gained the esteem of Severus, so much so, in fact, that the latter wrote to Commodus about him, and averred that he was a man indispensable to the state. And he was, indeed, a strict man in all things military. No soldier under his command ever forced a provincial

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to give him fuel, oil, or service. He himself never accepted any presents from a soldier, and when he served as tribune he would not allow any to be accepted. Even as emperor, when two tribunes were proved to have made deductions from the soldiers' rations,¹ he ordered the auxiliaries to stone them.

There is extant a letter written by Severus to Ragonius Celsus, who was then governor of Gaul²: "It is a pity that we cannot imitate the military discipline of this man whom we have overcome in war. For your soldiers go straggling on all sides; the tribunes bathe in the middle of the day; they have cook-shops for mess-halls and, instead of barracks, brothels; they dance, they drink, they sing, and they regard as the proper limit to a banquet unlimited drinking. How, pray, if any traces of our ancestral discipline still remained, could these things be? So then, first reform the tribunes, and then the rank and file. For as long as these fear you, so long will you hold them in check. But learn from Niger this also, that the soldiers cannot be made to fear you unless the tribunes and generals are irreproachable." IV. Thus did Severus Augustus write about Pescennius.

While Pescennius was still in the ranks, Marcus Antoninus wrote thus to Cornelius Balbus about him: "You sound the praises of Pescennius to me, and I recognize the man; for your predecessor also declared that he was vigorous in action, dignified in demeanour,

but at a later period they were recognized by law; see *Cod. Just.*, xii. 38, 12.

² On the authenticity of such letters as the following see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 6.

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- 2 gravem, et iam tum plus quam militem dixit. itaque
 nisi litteras recitandas ad signa, quibus eum trecentis
 Armeniis et centum Sarmatis et mille nostris praesce-
 3 iussi. tuum est ostendere hominem non ambitione,
 quod nostris non convenit moribus, sed virtute venisse
 ad eum locum quem avus meus Hadrianus, quem
 Traianus proavus non nisi exploratissimis dabat.”
- 4 De hoc eodem Commodus: “Pescennium fortem
 virum novi et ei tribunatus iam duos dedi; ducatum
 mox dabo, ubi per senectutem Aelius Corduenus rem
 5 publicam recusaverit”. haec de eo iudicia omnium
 fuerunt. sed et¹ Severus ipse saepe dixit ignotu-
 rum se Pescennio, nisi perseveraret.
- 6 A Commodio denique Pescennius consul declaratus
 Severo praepositus est, et quidem irato, quod primi-
 pilaribus commendantibus consulatum Niger merere-
 7 tur. in vita sua Severus dicit se, priusquam filii sui
 id aetatis haberent ut imperare possent, aegrotantem
 id in animo habuisse, ut, si quid forte sibi accidisset,
 Niger Pescennius eodem et Clodius Albinus succe-
 derent, qui ambo Severo gravissimi hostes exstiterunt.
- 8 unde apparet, quod etiam Severi de Pescennio iudicium
 V. fuerit. si Severo credimus, fuit gloriae cupidus
 Niger, vita fictus, moribus turpis, aetatis propectae,
 cum in imperium invasit. ex quo cupiditates eius

¹ *se severus P.*

¹ See c. i. 5 and note.

² Cf. c. v. 6; *Sev.*, viii. 15.

³ Prior to 189, in which year Severus seems to have been consul; see *Sev.*, iv. 4.

⁴ See note to *Sev.* iii. 2.

and even then more than a common soldier. Accordingly, I have sent letters to be read at review in which I have ordered him placed in command of three hundred Armenians, one hundred Sarmatians, and a thousand of our own troops. It is your place to show that the man has attained, not by intrigue, which is displeasing to our principles, but by merit, to a post which my grandfather Hadrian and my great-grandfather Trajan gave to none but the most thoroughly tried."

Again, Commodus said of this same man: "I know Pescennius for a brave man, and I have already made him tribune twice.¹ Presently, when advancing years shall make Aelius Corduenus retire from public life, I will make him a general." Such were the opinions that all men had of him. And in truth Severus himself frequently declared that he would have pardoned him had he not persisted.²

Finally, Commodus appointed him consul,³ and advanced him thereby over Severus, greatly indeed to the latter's wrath, since he thought that Niger had gained the consulship on the recommendation of the senior centurions. Yet in his autobiography⁴ Severus says that on one occasion, when he had fallen sick and his sons had not yet reached an age when they could rule, he intended, if anything by any chance should happen to him, to appoint Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his heirs to the throne, even these two men who in time became his bitterest enemies. From this it is evident what Severus thought of Pescennius. V. But if we may believe Severus, Niger was greedy for glory, hypocritical in his mode of life, base in morals, and well advanced in years when he attempted to seize the empire—for which

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incusat, proinde quasi Severus minor ad imperium venerit, qui annos suos contrahit, cum decem et octo annis imperavit et octogesimo nono periit.

2 Sane Severus Heraclitum ad obtinendam Bithyniam misit, Fulvium autem ad occupandos adultos Nigri
3 filios. nec tamen in senatum quicquam de Nigro Severus dixit, cum iam audisset de eius imperio, ipse autem proficisceretur ad componendum orientis
4 statum. tantum¹ sane illud fecit proficiscens, ut legiones ad Africam mitteret, ne eam Pescennius occuparet et fame populum Romanum perurgueret.
5 videbatur² autem id facere posse per Libyam Aegyptumque vicinas Africae, difficili licet itinere ac
6 navigatione. et Pescennius quidem veniente ad orientem Severo Graeciam, Thracias, Macedoniam, interfectis multis inlustribus viris tenebat, ad partici-
7 patum imperii Severum vocans. a quo, causa eorum quos occiderat, cum Aemiliano hostis est appellatus. dein a ducibus Severi per Aemilianum pugnans victus
8 est. et cum illi tutum exilium promitteret, si ab armis recederet, persistens iterum pugnavit et victus est atque apud Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus, et sic ad Severum adductus atque statim

¹ *tantum sane illud P; Tantum sane ille Damsté; statum tantum. sane illud Peter¹; statum nutantem. sane illud Petschenig, Peter².* ² *uidebatur Peter; et uidebatur P.*

¹ See *Sev.*, xxii. 1 and note.

² See *Sev.*, vi. 10 and notes.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, viii. 7.

⁴ On Niger's revolt see *Sev.*, viii. 12 f. and notes.

⁵ Near Nicæa in Bithynia; see note to *Sev.*, viii. 17.

reason Severus inveighs against his ambition, just as if he himself came to the throne young! For though he understated the number of his years, after ruling eighteen years he died at the age of eighty-nine.¹

Now Severus dispatched Heraclitus to secure Bithynia and Fulvius to seize Niger's adult children.² Nevertheless, although he had already heard that Niger had seized the empire, and although he himself was on the point of setting out to remedy the situation in the East, he made no mention of Niger in the senate. In fact, on setting out, he did only this—namely, send troops to Africa, fearing that Niger would seize it and thereby distress the Roman people with a famine.³ For such a plan was possible of accomplishment, it seemed, by way of Libya and Egypt, the provinces adjacent to Africa, for all that it was no easy journey either by land or sea. As for Pescennius,⁴ he slew a multitude of distinguished men and got control of Greece, Thrace, and Macedonia, while Severus was still on his way to the East. He then proposed to Severus that they two share the throne between them; whereupon Severus, because of the men whom Niger had slain, declared him and Aemilianus enemies to the state. Soon after, Niger gave battle under the leadership of Aemilianus and suffered defeat from Severus' generals. Even then, Severus promised him safety in exile if he would lay down his arms. Niger, however, persisted and gave battle a second time, but was defeated⁵; and in his flight while near the lake at Cyzicus he was wounded and was thus brought before Severus, and presently he was dead. VI. His head was paraded on a pike and then sent

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VI. mortuus. huius caput circumlatum pilo Roman
 2 missum, filii occisi, necata uxor, patrimonium publi-
 3 catum, familia omnis exstincta. sed haec omnia,
 4 postquam de Albini rebellione cognitum est, facta
 5 sunt; nam prius et filios Nigri et matrem in exsilium
 6 miserat. sed exarsit secundo civili bello, immo iam
 7 tertio, et factus est durior; tunc cum innumeros sena-
 8 tores interemit Severus et ab aliis Sullae Punici, ab
 9 aliis Marii nomen accepit.

5 Fuit statura prolixa, forma decorus, capillo in verti-
 cem ad gratiam reflexo, vocis canorae, ita ut in
 campo loquens per mille passus audiretur, nisi ventus
 adversaretur, oris verecundi et semper rubidi, cervice
 adeo nigra, ut, quem ad modum multi dicunt, ab ea
 6 Nigri nomen acceperit, cetera corporis parte candidus
 et magis pinguis, vini avidus, cibi parcus, rei veneriae
 7 nisi ad creandos liberos prorsus ignarus. denique
 etiam sacra quaedam in Gallia, quae semper¹ castissimis
 decernunt consensu publico celebranda, suscepit.
 8 hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum
 de musivo² inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra
 9 Isidis ferentem; quibus Commodus adeo deditus fuit,
 ut et caput raderet et Anubin portaret et omnis
 pausas³ expleret.

¹ quae semper Editor; qua se P; + qua se Peter. ² musio
 P, Peter. ³ pausas Gruter; paucas P.

¹ See *Sev.*, x. 1.

² The revolt of Albinus.

³ See *Sev.*, xiii.

⁴ An allusion to the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla. According to Dio, lxxv. 8, 1, Severus in a speech to the senate praised their severity. He is called "Punic" because he came from Africa.

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to Rome. His children were put to death, his wife was murdered, his estates were confiscated, and his entire household utterly blotted out. All this, however, was done after news of the revolt of Albinus was received,¹ for before that Niger's children and their mother had merely been sent into exile. But Severus was exasperated by the second civil war, or rather the third,² and became implacable; and it was then that he put countless senators to death³ and got himself called by some the Punic Sulla, by others the Punic Marius.⁴

In stature Niger was tall, in appearance attractive; and his hair grew back in a graceful way toward the crown of his head. His voice was so penetrating that when he spoke in the open he could be heard a thousand paces away, if the wind were not against him. His countenance was dignified and always somewhat ruddy; his neck was so black that many men say that he was called Niger on this account. The rest of his body, however, was very white and he was inclined to be fat. He was fond of wine, sparing in his use of food, and as for intercourse with women, he abstained from it wholly save for the purpose of begetting children.⁵ Indeed, certain religious rites in Gaul, which they always by common consent vote to the most chaste to celebrate, Niger himself performed. On the rounded colonnade in the garden of Commodus he is to be seen pictured in the mosaic among Commodus' most intimate friends and performing the rites of Isis.⁶ To these rites Commodus was so devoted as even to shave his head, carry the image of Anubis, and make every one of the ritualistic pauses in the procession.

⁵ But see c. i. 4.

⁶ See *Com.*, ix. 3 f.

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- 10 Fuit ergo miles optimus, tribunus singularis, dux praecipuus, legatus severissimus, consul insignis, vir domi forisque conspicuus, imperator infelix; usui denique rei publicae sub Severo, homine tetrico, esse VII. potuisset, si cum eo esse voluisset. sed deceptus est consiliis scaevis¹ Aureliani, qui filias suas eius filiis despondens persistere eum fecit in imperio.
- 2 Hic tantae fuit auctoritatis, ut ad Marcum primum deinde ad Commodum scriberet, cum videret provincias facili administrationum mutatione subverti, primum ut nulli ante quinquennium succederetur provinciae praesidi vel legato vel proconsuli, quod prius deponerent potestatem quam scirent administrare.
- 3 deinde ne novi ad regendam rem publicam accederent praeter militares administrationes intimavit, ut assessores in quibus provinciis adsedissent, in his 4 administrarent. quod postea Severus et deinceps multi tenuerunt, ut probant Pauli et Ulpiani praefecturae, qui Papiniano in consilio fuerunt ac postea, cum unus ad memoriam, alter ad libellos parauisset,

¹ *scaevis* Salmasius; *sceui* P.

¹ On the distinction see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9.

² The *assessores* (also called *consiliarii*), the governor's especial assistants in all matters pertaining to the administration of justice, sat by him at trials (hence the name) and gave him advice in legal matters. On this office see *Digesta*, i. 22.

³ In his capacity as prefect of the guard. These three men were the famous jurists constantly cited in the *Digesta*.

⁴ These two officials, together with three others, the secretary of the emperor (*ab epistulis*, see *Hadr.*, xi. 3), the secretary for the imperial trials (*a cognitionibus*), and the emperor's

As a soldier, then, he was excellent; as a tribune, without peer; as a general, eminent; as a governor, stern; as a consul, distinguished; as a man, one to be noted both at home and abroad; but as an emperor, unlucky. Under Severus, who was a forbidding sort of man, he might have been of use to the state had he been willing to cast in his lot with him. VII. But this could not be, for he was deceived by the sinister counsels of Aurelianus, who espoused his daughters to Niger's sons and made him persist in his attempt at empire.

He was a man of such influence that when he saw the provinces being demoralized by frequent changes of administration, he ventured to write to Marcus, and later to Commodus, making two recommendations: first, that no provincial governor, legate or proconsul,¹ should be superseded within a term of five years, because otherwise they laid down their power before they learned how to rule; and second, that save for posts held by soldiers, no man without previous experience should be appointed to take part in the government of the empire, the purpose of this being that assistants² should be promoted to the administration of those provinces only in which they had served as assistants. Afterwards this very principle was maintained by Severus and many of his successors, as the prefectures of Paulus and Ulpian prove—for these men were assistants to Papinian,³ and afterwards, when the one had served as secretary of memoranda and the other as secretary of petitions,⁴ both were next appointed

literary adviser (*a studiis*) were important and influential members of the imperial cabinet. Originally, these posts were held by freedmen of the emperor, but after Hadrian's reform of the civil service they were assigned to Equites; see *Hadr.*, xxii. 8.

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5 statim praefecti facti sunt. huius etiam illud fuit, ut
 nemo adsideret in sua provincia, nemo administraret
 6 nisi Romae Romanus, hoc est oriundus urbe. addidit
 praeterea consiliariis salaria, ne eos gravarent quibus
 adsidebant, dicens iudicem nec dare debere nec acci-
 7 pere. hic erga milites tanta fuit censura, ut, cum
 apud Aegyptum ab eo limitanei vinum peterent,
 responderit "Nilum habetis et vinum quaeritis?";
 si quidem tanta illius fluminis dulcitus, ut accolae
 8 vina non quaerant. idem tumultuantibus iis qui
 a Saracenis victi fuerant et dicentibus, "Vinum non
 accepimus, pugnare non possumus," "Erubescite,"
 9 inquit, "illi qui vos vincunt aquam bibunt". idem
 Palaestinis rogantibus ut eorum censitio levaretur
 idcirco quod esset gravata respondit: "Vos terras
 vestras levare censitione vultis; ego vero etiam aerem
 vestrum censere vellem".

VIII. Denique Delphici Apollinis vates in motu¹ rei
 publicae maximo, cum nuntiaretur tres esse impera-
 tores, Severum Septimium, Pescennium Nigrum,
 Clodium Albinum, consultus quem expediret rei pub-
 licae imperare, versum Graecum huiusmodi fuisse²
 dicitur:

"Optimus est Fuscus, bonus Afer, pessimus Albus."

¹ immo P.

² fuisse P.

¹ i.e., the assessores. Salaries had already been granted to them by Antoninus Pius; see *Digesta*, l. 13, 4. If the present passage and *Alex.*, xlv. 1 are correct, however, it would seem that the grant had not been carried out in full.

prefects of the guard. It was also a recommendation of his that no one should serve as assistant in the province of his birth, and that no one should govern a province who was not a Roman of Rome, that is, a man born in the city itself. He also recommended salaries for the members of the governor's council,¹ in order to prevent their being a burden to those to whom they were advisers, adding that judges ought neither to give nor receive. With his soldiers he was severity itself; once, for example, when the frontier troops in Egypt asked him for wine, he replied: "Do you ask for wine when you have the Nile?" In fact, the waters of the Nile are so sweet that the inhabitants of the country do not ask for wine. And similarly, when the troops made a great uproar after they had been defeated by the Saracens, and cried out, "We get no wine, we cannot fight!", "Then blush," said he, "for the men who defeat you drink water." Likewise, when the people of Palestine besought him to lessen their tribute, saying that it bore heavily on them, he replied: "So you wish me to lighten the tax on your lands; verily, if I had my way, I would tax your air".

VIII. Now when the confusion in the state was at its height, inasmuch as it was made known that there were three several emperors, Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus, the priest of the Delphic Apollo was asked which of them as emperor would prove of most profit to the state, whereupon, it is said, he gave voice to a Greek verse as follows:

"Best is the Dark One, the African good, but the worst is the White One."

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2 ex quo intellectum Fuscum Nigrum appellatum vaticinatione, Severum Afrum, Album vero Albinum dictum. nec defuit alia curiositas, qua requisitum est qui esset obtenturus rem publicam. ad quod ille respondit alium versum talem :

“ Fundetur sanguis Albi Nigrique animantis,
imperium mundi Poena reget urbe profectus.”

4 item, cum quaesitum esset quis illi¹ successurus esset, respondisse itidem Graeco versu dicitur :

“ Cui dederint superi nomen habere Pii.”

5 quod omnino intellectum non est nisi cum Bassianus Antonini, quod verum signum Pii fuit, nomen accepit. 6 item cum quaereretur quamdiu imperaturus esset, respondisse Graece dicitur :

“ Bis denis Italum conscendit navibus aequor,
si tamen una ratis transiliet pelagus.”

ex quo intellectum Severum viginti annos expleturum.

IX. Haec sunt, Diocletiane maxime Augustorum, quae de Pescennio didicimus ex pluribus libris. non enim facile, ut in principio libri diximus, quisquam

¹ illis P.

¹ See *Sev.*, x. 3.

² An adaptation of *Aeneid*, i. 381.

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and in this response it was clearly understood that Niger was meant by the Dark One, Severus by the African, and Albinus by the White One. Thereupon the curiosity of the questioners was aroused, and they asked who would really win the empire. To this the priest replied with further verses somewhat as follows :

Both of the Black and the White shall the life-blood
be shed all untimely ;
Empire over the world shall be held by the native of
Carthage."

and then when the priest was asked who should succeed this man, he gave answer, it is said, with another Greek verse :

He whom the dwellers above have called by the
surname of Pius."

but this was altogether unintelligible until Bassianus took the name Antoninus,¹ which was Pius' true surname. And when finally they asked how long he would rule, the priest is said to have replied in Greek as follows :

Surely with twice ten ships he will cleave the
Italian waters,²
Only let one of his barques bound o'er the plain of
the sea."

From this they perceived that Severus would round out twenty years.

IX. This, Diocletian, greatest of emperors, is what we have learned concerning Pescennius, gathering it from many books. For when a man consigns to books the lives of men who were not rulers in the

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vitas eorum mittit in libros, qui aut principes in re publica non fuerunt aut a senatu appellati non sunt imperatores, aut occisi citius ad famam venire ne-
2 quiverunt. inde quod latet Vindex, quod Piso nescitur, quod omnes illi qui aut tantum adoptati sunt aut a militibus imperatores appellati, ut sub Domitiano Antonius, aut cito interempti vitam cum
3 imperii usurpatione posuerunt. sequitur nunc ut de Clodio Albino dicam, qui quasi socius huius habetur, quod et pariter contra Severum rebellarunt et ab eodem victi atque occisi sunt. de quo ipso neque
4 satis clara exstant, quia eadem fortuna illius fuit quae Pescennii, etiamsi vita satis dispar.
5 Ac ne quid ex iis quae ad Pescennium pertinent praeterisse videamur, licet aliis libris cognosci possint, de hoc Septimio Severo vates dixerunt quod neque vivus neque mortuus in potestatem Severi venturus
6 esset, sed iuxta aquas illi pereundum esset. quod quidam¹ dicunt ipsum Severum de mathesi, quae callebat, dixisse. nec abfuit² responsis veritas, cum ille inventus sit iuxta paludem semivivus.

X. Hic tantae fuit severitatis, ut, cum milites quosdam in caeco argenteo expeditionis tempore

¹ *quidem* P.

² *adfuit* P.

¹ Cf. c. i. 1.

² C. Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, who led a revolt against Nero in 68 and was defeated by the army from Germany; see Suetonius, *Nero*, xl. f.

³ C. Calpurnius Piso, the nominal head of a wide-spread conspiracy formed against Nero in 65; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 48-59.

state, or of those, again, who were not declared emperors by the senate, or, lastly, of those who were so quickly killed that they could not attain to fame, his task is difficult, as we said at the beginning of this work.¹ It is for this reason that Vindex² is obscure and Piso³ unknown, as well as all those others also who were merely adopted, or were hailed as emperors by the soldiers (as was Antonius⁴ in Domitian's time), or were speedily slain and gave up their lives and their attempt at empire together. It now remains for me to speak of Clodius Albinus,⁵ who is considered this man's ally, in a way, since they rebelled against Severus similarly, and were similarly overcome by him and put to death. But we have no clear information concerning him either, since he and Pescennius were the same in fate, however much they differed in their lives.

And lest we seem to omit any of the tales which are told of Pescennius, for all that they can be read in other books, the soothsayers told Severus concerning Pescennius that neither living nor yet dead would he fall into Severus' hands but would perish near the water. Some say that Severus himself made this statement, learning it from astrology, in which he was very skilled. Nor was the augury devoid of truth, for Pescennius was found half dead near a lake.⁶

X. Pescennius was a man of unusual rigour; when he learned, for instance, that various soldiers were drinking from silver cups while on a campaign, he

¹ L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, who with two legions attempted a revolt in 88, but was soon defeated and put to death; see Suetonius, *Domitian*, vi.

² See *Sev.*, x-xi; *Cl. Alb.*, ix.

³ Cf. c. v. 8.

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bibere vidisset, iusserit omne argentum summovi
de usu expeditionali, addito eo ut ligneis vasis uterentur. quod quidem illi odium militare concitavit.
2 dicebat enim posse fieri, ut sarcinae militares in potestatem hostium venirent, nec se barbarae nationes
argento nostro gloriosiores facerent, cum alia minus
3 apta hosticam viderentur ad gloriam. idem iussit vinum in expeditione neminem bibere, sed acetum
4 universos esse contentos. idem pistores sequi expeditionem prohibuit, bucellato iubens milites et
5 omnes contentos esse. idem ob unius gallinacei direptionem decem commanipulones, qui raptum ab uno comederant, securi percuti iussit; et fecisset, nisi
ab omni exercitu prope usque ad metum seditionis
6 esset rogatus. et cum pepercisset, iussit ut denorum gallinaceorum pretia provinciali redderent decem,
qui simul furto convixerant, addito eo ut tota in expeditione in commanipulatione nemo focum faceret,
ne umquam recens coctum cibum sumerent, sed pane ac frigida vescerentur, adpositis speculatori-
7 bus, qui id curarent. idem iussit, ne zona milites ad bellum ituri¹ aureos vel argenteos nummos portarent, sed publice commendarent, recepturi post proelia

¹ item P.

¹ Cf. *Hadr.*, x. 2.

gave orders that all silver whatever should be banished from the camp in war-time, and added that the soldiers should use wooden cups—a command that gained him their resentment. For it was not impossible, he said, that the soldiers' individual baggage might fall into the hands of the enemy, and foreign tribes should not be given cause for glorying in our silver, when there were other articles that would contribute less to a foeman's glory. He gave orders, likewise, that in time of campaign the soldiers should not drink wine but should all content themselves with vinegar.¹ He also forbade pastry-cooks to follow expeditions, ordering both soldiers and all others to content themselves with biscuit. For the theft of a single cock, furthermore, he gave an order that the ten comrades who had shared the bird which one of them had stolen, should all be beheaded; and he would have carried out the sentence, had not the entire army importuned him to such a degree that there was reason to fear a mutiny. And when he had spared them, he ordered that each of the ten who had feasted on the stolen bird should pay the provincial who owned it the price of ten cocks. At this same time he ordered that no one during the whole period of the campaign should build a hearth in his company-quarters, and that they should never eat freshly-cooked food, but should live on bread and cold water. And he set spies to see that this was done. He gave orders, likewise, that the soldiers should not carry gold or silver coin in their money-belts when about to go into action, but should deposit them with a designated official. After the battle, he assured them, they would get back what they had deposited, or the official who had

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quod dederant, addens liberis eorum et uxoribus heredibus certe reddendum, cui¹ venisset, ne ad hostes aliquid praedae perveniret, si quid forte adversi fortuna fecisset. sed haec omnia, ut se habuerat Commodi temporum dissolutio, adversa eidem fuere. denique etiamsi nemo fuit, qui suis temporibus durior videretur, ad perniciem² illi magis vivo³ quam mortuo, ubi et invidia et odium deposita erant, talia exempla valuerunt.

XI. Idem in omni expeditione ante omnes militarem cibum sumpsit ante papilionem, nec sibi umquam vel contra solem vel contra imbres quaesivit tecti² suffragium, si miles non habuit. tantum denique belli tempore, ratione militibus demonstrata, sibi et servis suis vel contubernalibus putavit⁴ quantum a militibus ferebatur, cum servos suos annona oneraret, ne illi securi ambularent et onusti milites, idque ab exercitu cum suspirio videretur. idem in contione iuravit se, quamdiu in expeditionibus fuisset essetque⁵ adhuc futurus, non aliter egisse⁶ acturumque esse quam militem, Marium ante oculos habentem et duces tales, nec alias fabulas umquam habuit nisi de⁷ Hannibale ceterisque talibus. denique cum imperatori facto quidam panegyricum recitare vellet, dixit ei: "Scribe laudes Marii vel Hannibalis vel cuiusvis⁸ ducis optimi vita functi, et dic quid ille fecerit, ut eum nos imitemur. nam viventes

¹ cui Salmasius; qui P. ² ad perniciem Edit. Princeps; perniciem P, Peter. ³ magis vivo quam mortuo Editor; magis ista quam mortuo P; lacuna before mortuo Peter.

⁴ putavit Hirschfeld, Peter²; portavit P, Peter¹. ⁵ esse quae P. ⁶ egisse Salmasius; esse P. ⁷ om. in P.

⁸ <vel> cuiusvis Baehrens, Peter²; cuius P; <vel> alius Peter¹.

received it would pay it to their heirs—that is, their wives and children—without fail. Thus, he reasoned, no plunder would pass to the enemy, should fortune bring some disaster. All these stern measures, however, worked to his disadvantage in times so slack as those of Commodus. For even if there was no one who seemed to his own times a sterner general, these measures availed to damage him rather during his life than after his death, when both envy and malice were laid by.

XI. On all his campaigns he took his meals in front of his tent and in the presence of all his men, and he ate the soldiers' own fare, too; nor did he ever seek shelter against sun or against rain if a soldier was without it. In time of war he assigned to himself and to his slaves or aides as heavy burdens as were borne by the soldiers themselves, expounding to the soldiers the reason therefor; for in order that his slaves might not be without burdens on the march while the soldiers carried packs and this seem a grievous thing to the army, he loaded them with rations. He took an oath, besides, in the presence of an assembly, that as long as he had conducted campaigns and as long as he expected to conduct them, he had not in the past and would not in the future act otherwise than as a simple soldier—having before his eyes Marius and such commanders as he. He never told anecdotes about anyone save Hannibal and others such as he. Indeed, when some one wished to recite him a panegyric at the time that he was declared emperor, he said to him: "Write praises of Marius, or Hannibal, or of any pre-eminent general now dead, and tell what he did, that we may imitate him. For the praise of the living is mere mockery,

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laudare inrisio est, maxime imperatores, a quibus speratur, qui timentur, qui praestare publice possunt, qui possunt necare, qui proscribere." se autem vivum placere velle, mortuum etiam laudari.

XII. Amavit de principibus Augustum, Vespasianum, Titum, Traianum, Pium, Marcum, reliquos faenecos vel venenatos vocans; maxime tamen in historiis Marium et Camillum et Quinctium et¹ Marcium Coriolanum dilexit. interrogatus autem quid de Scipionibus sentiret, dixisse fertur felices illos fuisse magis quam fortes; idque probare domesticam vitam et iuventutem, quae in utroque minus speciosa domi³ fuisset. apud omnes constat quod, si rerum potitus fuisset, omnia correcturus fuerit, quae Severus vel non potuit emendare vel noluit, et quidem sine crudelitate, immo etiam cum lenitate, sed militari, non remissa et inepta atque ridicula.

⁴ Domus eius hodie Romae visitur in Campo Iovis, quae appellatur Pescenniana.² in qua simulacrum eius in trichoro consistit, positum³ ex Thebaico marmore, quod ille ad similitudinem sui factum a grege⁴ Thebaeorum acceperat. exstat etiam epigramma Graecum, quod Latine hanc habet sententiam :

¹ *Quinctium et Marcium* Jordan; *quintum marcium* P. *pescenniani* P. ² *consistit, positum* Peter; *constituit statim post annum* P. ³ *grege* Lumbroso; *rege* P, Peter.

¹ M. Furius Camillus, who as dictator captured Veii in 396 B.C. and later defeated the Volscians.

² L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator in 458 B.C., when he defeated the Aequi.

³ Leader of the Romans against the Volscians, whom, after

and most of all the praise of emperors, in whose power it lies to kindle hope or fear, to give advancement in public life, to condemn to death, and to declare a man an outlaw." He added that he wished to give satisfaction in his life-time, and after his death to be praised as well.

XII. His favourites among his predecessors were Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Pius, and Marcus; the others, he averred, were either puppets or monsters. Among the characters of history he admired most of all Marius, Camillus,¹ Quinctius,² and Marcus Coriolanus.³ And once, when asked his opinion concerning the Scipios, he replied, it is said, that they were rather fortunate than forceful, as was shown by their home-lives and by their youth, which, in the case of both, had not been conspicuous at home. All men are agreed that he proposed, had he gained the throne, to correct all the evils which Severus, later, either could not or would not correct; and this he would have accomplished without any cruelty, or rather even with mercy, but yet the mercy of a soldier, not weak or absurd and a subject for mockery.

His house, still called by the name of Pescennius, may still be seen in the Field of Jupiter.⁴ Within, in a certain room with three compartments there stands his statue, carved in Theban marble,⁵ depicting his likeness, and given him by the common people of Thebes. There is preserved, besides, an epigram in Greek which, rendered into Latin, runs as follows:

he was exiled from Rome in 491 B.C., he joined and led against Rome.

⁴ The site of this is unknown.

⁵ Black basalt, called by the ancients *basanites*, was brought to Rome from upper Egypt; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 58.

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6 "Terror Aegyptiaci Niger astat militis ingens,
Thebaidos socius, aurea saecula volens.
hunc reges, hunc gentes amant, hunc aurea Roma,
hic Antoninis carus et ¹ imperio.
Nigrum nomen habet, nigrum ² formavimus ipsi,
ut consentiret forma, metalle, tibi."

7 quos quidem versus Severus eradi noluit, cum hoc
ei et praefecti suggererent et officiorum magistri,
8 addens: "Si talis fuit, sciant omnes qualem viceri-
mus; si talis non fuit, putent omnes nos talem
vicisse; immo sic sit, quia fuit talis."

¹ om. in P.

² *nigram* P.

PESCENNIUS NIGER XII. 6-8

“Glorious Niger stands here, the dread of the soldiers
of Egypt,
Faithful ally of Thebes, willing a golden age.
Loved by the kings and the nations of earth, and by
Rome the all golden,
Dear to the Antonines, aye, dear to the Empire too.
Black is the surname he bears, and black is the statue
we’ve fashioned,
Thus do surname and hue, hero and marble, agree.”

As for these verses, Severus refused to erase them when this was proposed by his prefects and masters of ceremonies, and said, besides : “ If indeed he was such a man, let all men learn how great was the man we vanquished ; if such he was not, let all men deem that such was the man we vanquished ; no, leave it as it is, for such he really was ”.

VITA
CLODII ALBINI
IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Uno eodemque prope tempore post Pertinacem, qui auctore¹ Albino interemptus est, Iulianus a senatu Romae, Septimius Severus ab exercitu in Illyrico,² Pescennius Niger in Oriente, Clodius Albinus³ in Gallia imperatores appellati. et Clodium³ quidem Herodianus dicit Severi⁴ Caesarem fuisse. sed cum alter alterum indignaretur imperare, nec Galli ferre possent aut Germaniciani⁵ exercitus quod et ipsi suum specialem principem haberent, undique cuncta turbata sunt.

³ Fuit autem Clodius Albinus familia nobili,
⁴ Hadrumetinus tamen ex Africa. quare sortem illam, qua⁶ Severum laudatum in Pescennii vita diximus, ad

¹ auctor P. ² Illyrico Erasmus; *syria* P. ³ *clodius* P.
⁴ *seuerum* P. ⁵ *Germaniciani* Salmasius; *germani-*
ani P. ⁶ *quae* P.

¹ Repeated in c. xiv. 2 and 6, and found in other late writers. There is no suggestion of it in Dio or Herodian and it seems to be wholly untrue.

² Albinus was not acclaimed emperor until 196, after Niger's revolt was crushed; see *Sev.*, x. 1.

³ See *Sev.*, x. 7—xi. 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. After the death of Pertinax, who was slain at Albinus' advice,¹ various men were hailed emperor at about one and the same time²—by the senate Julianus at Rome, and by the armies, Septimius Severus in Illyricum, Pescennius Niger in the East, and Clodius Albinus in Gaul.³ According to Herodian, Clodius had been named Caesar by Severus.⁴ But as time went on, each chafed at the other's rule, and the armies of Gaul and Germany demanded an emperor of their own naming, and so all parts of the empire were thrown into an uproar.

Now Clodius Albinus came of a noble family,⁵ but he was a native of Hadrumetum in Africa. Because of this, he applied to himself the oracle in praise of Severus, which we quoted in the Life of Pescennius,

⁴ See Herodian, ii. 15, 3; Dio, lxxiii. 15, 1. These writers indicate that this was merely a trick on Severus' part, the purpose of which was to prevent Albinus from attacking him during his campaign against Niger. According to c. iii. 4-5 and x. 3, on the other hand, Severus really intended to make Albinus his successor. The name Caesar appears in Albinus' inscriptions (see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 414 and 415) and on his coins (see Cohen, iii², p. 416 f.).

⁵ According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, the family was of senatorial rank.

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se trahebat, nolens intellegi "Pessimus Albus,"¹ quod eodem versu continebatur quo et Severi laus et adprobatio Nigri Pescennii. sed priusquam vel de vita eius vel de morte dissero, etiam hoc dicendum est quod eum nobilem fecit.

II. Nam ad hunc eundem quondam Commodus cum² successorem Albino daret, litteras dederat, quibus iusserat ut Caesar esset. exemplum indidi:
² "Imperator Commodus Clodio Albino. alias ad te publice de successione atque honore tuo misi, sed hanc familiarem et domesticam, omnem, ut vides, manu mea scriptam, qua tibi do facultatem, ut, si necessitas fuerit, ad milites prodeas et tibi Caesarea-
³ num nomen adsumas. audio enim et Septimium Severum et Nonium Murcum male de me apud milites loqui, ut sibi parent stationis Augustae pro-
⁴ curationem. habebis praeterea, cum id feceris, dandi stipendii usque ad tres aureos liberam potestatem, quia et super hoc ad procuratores meos litteras misi, quas ipse signatas excipies signo Amazonio et, cum opus fuerit, rationalibus dabis, ne te non audiant,
⁵ cum de aerario volueris imperare. sane ut tibi insigne aliquod³ imperialis maiestatis adiciam,⁴ habebis utendi coccini pallii facultatem in praesenti⁵ et ad me,

¹ *Albus* Jordan; *albinus* P. ² *tum cum* Peter; *cum eum* P. ³ *aliquid* P¹. ⁴ *adiciam* Peter; *accedam* P. ⁵ *in praesenti* Damsté; *me praesentem* P; *impraesentiarum* P².

¹ *Pesc. Nig.*, viii. 1.

² On this and the other letters in this biography see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 6.

³ See *Sev.*, vi. 9 and note.

for he did not wish it to be interpreted as "the worst is the White One," which is contained in the same line in which Severus is praised and Pescennius Niger commended.¹ But before I discourse on his life and his death I should relate the manner in which he became ennobled.

II. There is a certain letter² which Commodus sent Albinus once, on naming his successor in office, in which he bade him assume the name of Caesar;³ of this letter I append a copy:

"The Emperor Commodus to Clodius Albinus greeting. I wrote you once officially about the succession to the throne and your own elevation to honour, but I am now sending you this private and confidential message, all written with my own hand, as you will see, in which I empower you, should emergency arise, to present yourself to the soldiers and assume the name of Caesar. For I hear that both Septimius Severus and Nonius Murcus are speaking ill of me to their troops, hoping thereby to get the appointment to the post of Augustus. You shall have full power besides, when you thus present yourself, to give the soldiers a largess of three aurei apiece. You will get a letter which I am sending to my procurators to this effect, sealed with my signet of an Amazon,⁴ which you will deliver to my stewards when the need arises, that they may not refuse your demands on the treasury. And that you may receive some definite symbol of an emperor's majesty, I authorize you to wear both at the present time and at my court the scarlet cloak.⁵

⁴ Commodus had his concubine Marcia portrayed as an Amazon; see *Com.*, xi. 9.

⁵ The *paludamentum*, worn in the republican period by the commanding general. In the imperial era its use was restricted to members of the emperor's family.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

et cum tecum fueris, habiturus et purpuram sed sine auro, quia ita et proavus meus Verus, qui puer vita functus est, ab Hadriano, qui eum adoptavit, accepit."

III. His litteris acceptis omnino¹ facere id quod iubebat noluit, videns² odiosum Commodum propter mores suos, quibus rem publicam perdiderat et se dedecoraverat, quandocumque feriendum, et timens³ ne ipse pariter occideretur.

2 Exstat denique illius contio, qua,⁴ cum accepit imperium, et quidem Severi, ut quidam, voluntate⁵ firmatum, huius rei memoriam facit. cuius hoc exemplum est: "Invitum me, commilitones, ductum ad imperium etiam illud probat, quod Commodum donantem me Caesareano nomine contempsit; sed et vestrae voluntati⁵ et Severi Augusti parendum est, quia credo sub homine optimo et viro forti posse bene rem publicam regi".

4 Nec negari potest,⁶ quod⁷ etiam Marius Maximus dicit, hunc animum Severo primum fuisse, ut, si quid ei contingeret, Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium
5 Albinum sibi substitueret. sed postea et filiis iam

¹ a nonio P. ² videns Salmasius; umen P. ³ timens Salmasius; eum timens P. ⁴ quam P. ⁵ voluntatis P.¹.
⁶ potes P.¹. ⁷ quos P.¹.

¹ A development of the *paludamentum* and regarded as the specific costume of the emperor. It was dyed with the liquor of a peculiar variety of shellfish (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 130), whereas the scarlet *paludamentum* was dyed with cochineal.

Later, when you are with me, you shall have the imperial purple,¹ though without the embroidery in gold.² For my great-grandfather Verus,³ who died in boyhood, received this from Hadrian, who adopted him."

III. Albinus received this letter, but he utterly refused to do what the Emperor bade. For he saw that Commodus was hated because of his evil ways, which were bringing destruction upon the state and dishonour upon himself, and that he would sometime or other be slain, and he feared that he might perish with him.

There is still in existence the speech he made when he accepted the imperial power—some say, indeed, by Severus' wish and authorization—in which he makes allusion to this refusal. Of this speech I append a copy: "It is against my will, my comrades, that I am exalted to empire, and a proof of it is this, that when Commodus once gave me the name of Caesar, I scorned it. Now, however, I must yield to your desire and to that of Severus Augustus, for I believe that under an upright man and a brave one the state can be well ruled."

It is an undeniable fact, moreover, and Marius Maximus also relates it, that Severus at first intended to name Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus as his successors, in case aught befell him.⁴ Later, as it happened, in the interest of his growing sons, and through envy of the affection in which Albinus was

²The triumphal toga was purple, embroidered with gold. It was worn by the emperors on occasions of special importance.

³L. Aelius Caesar. He was, of course, not an ancestor of Commodus, for he was the father of Lucius Verus.

⁴See c. i. 2 and note.

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maiusculis studens et Albini amori invidens sententiam mutasse atque illorum utrumque¹ bello oppressisse, maxime precibus uxoris adductus.² denique Severus eum et consulem designavit, quod utique nisi de optimo viro non fecisset, homo in legendis magistratibus diligens.

IV. Sed ut ad eum redeam, fuit, ut dixi, Albinus Hadrumetinus oriundo, sed nobilis apud suos et originem a Romanis familiis trahens, Postumiorum scilicet et Albinorum et Ceioniorum. quae familia hodie quoque, Constantine maxime, nobilissima est et per te aucta et augenda, quae per Gallienum et Gordianos plurimum crevit. hic tamen natus lae modico, patrimonio pertenui, parentibus sanctis, patre Ceonio Postumo, matre Aurelia Messalina, primus suis parentibus fuit. cum exceptus utero, quod contra consuetudinem puerorum, qui, cum nascuntur, solent³ rubere,⁴ esset⁵ candidissimus, Albinus est dictus. quod verum⁶ esse patris epistula ad⁷ Aelium Bassianum tunc proconsulem Africae data signat, adfinem, quantum videtur, eorum ipsorum epistula Ceionii Postumi ad Aelium Bassianum: "Filius mihi natus est VII kal. Decembres, ita candi-

¹ *illos utrosque* P corr. ² *abductus* P corr. ³ *qui, cum nascuntur, solent* Lessing; *qui nascuntur et solent* P, Peter.
⁴ *rubore* P. ⁵ *esse* P. ⁶ *veri* P¹. ⁷ *om.* in P¹.

¹ c. i. 3.

² This array of names seems to have the purpose of using Albinus as a means of connecting the Ceionii Albini, a famous family of the fourth century, with the Postumii Albini, famous in the republican era and especially in the second century before Christ. The same purpose seems to appear in the name assigned to Albinus' father (§ 3), which is composed of the names of two *gentes* of famous Albini, regardless of the

held, and most of all because of his wife's entreaties, he changed his purpose and crushed both of them in war. But he did name Albinus consul, and this he never would have done had not Albinus been a worthy man, since he was ever most careful in his choice of magistrates.

IV. To return to Albinus, however, he was a native of Hadrumetum, as I have said before,¹ but he was both of noble rank there and traced his descent from noble families at Rome, namely the Postumii, the Albini, and the Ceionii.² The last of these families is among the noblest to-day, for you, most puissant Constantine, have exalted it and shall exalt it further, though it gained its greatest prestige by the favour of Gallienus and the Gordians. He was born at Hadrumetum in a modest home, in slender circumstances,³ and of righteous parents, Ceionius Postumus and Aurelia Messalina, and he was their first-born son. When taken from his mother's womb, unlike the common run of infants, who are red at birth, he was very white in hue, and for this reason he was named Albinus. The truth of this is proved by a letter which his father wrote to Aelius Bassianus, then proconsul of Africa and, as it seems, a kinsman of the family. The letter of Ceionius Postumus to Aelius Bassianus: "A son was born to me on the seventh day before the Kalends of December,

difference in usage between Postumius as the name of a *gens* and Postumus as the *cognomen* of a family. This attempt to find famous ancestors for the Ceionii Albini has been used as an argument for the theory that portions, at least, of the *Historia Augusta* were not written before the end of the fourth century.

³ According to Herodian, ii. 15, 1, he was brought up in wealth and luxury.

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7 dus statim toto corpore, ut linteamen, quo¹ exceptus
est, vinceret. quare susceptum eum Albinorum fam-
iliae, quae mihi tecum communis est, dedi Albi
nomine imposito. fac ut rem publicam et te et nos
ut facis, diligas."

V. Hic ergo omnem pueritiam in Africa transegit.
eruditus litteris Graecis ac Latinis ² mediocriter, quod
² esset animi iam tum³ militaris et superbi. nam⁴ fer-
tur in scholis saepissime cantasse inter puerulos

"Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis,"
repetens

"Arma amens capio."

³ Huic multa imperii signa, cum esset natus, facta
dicuntur. nam et bos albus purpureis ad plenum
⁴ colorem cornibus natus est.⁵ quae tamen in templo
Apollinis Cumani ab eodem posita iam tribuno dia-
fuisse dicuntur, quod, cum illi⁶ sortem de fato⁷ suo
tolleret, his versibus eidem dicitur esse responsum:

"Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet eques,⁸ sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem."

⁵ et in Gallia quidem eum multas gentes domuisse con-
stat. ipse autem suspicabatur de Severo sibi praec-
dictum "sternet Poenos," quod Septimius Afer esset.

¹ quod P. ² ac latinis graecis P¹. ³ tum Peter; inte
P; inde Salmasius. ⁴ superbi. nam Peter; superbiam P.
⁵ quod mirandum fuit cum cornibus added in P; rej. by
Peter. ⁶ illi Peter²; illis P. ⁷ facto P. ⁸ tumultus
steteque P¹.

¹ Vergil, *Aeneid*, ii. 314. ² Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 857-858.

³ Cf. c. vi. 3.

CLODIUS ALBINUS IV. 7—V. 5

and so white was his body at birth that it was whiter than the linen clothes in which we wrapped him. I acknowledged him, therefore, as one of the family of the Albini, who are common kin to you and me, and bestowed upon him the name Albinus. And now remember, I pray you, our country, yourself and me."

V. All his boyhood, then, Albinus spent in Africa, where he got a fair education in Greek and Latin letters. And even at that time he showed signs of a haughty and warlike spirit, for at school, it is said, he used often to recite to the children :

"Madly I seized my arms, though in arms there lay little reason".¹

And he repeated again and again the words, "Madly I seized my arms".

It is said that his rule was predicted by a number of omens that occurred at the time of his birth. For instance, a snow-white bull was born, whose horns were of a deep purple hue. And he is said to have placed these, when tribune of the soldiers, in the temple of Apollo at Cumae, and when he made inquiry of the oracle there concerning his fate, he received a response, it is said, in the following lines :

"He shall establish the power of Rome though
tumult beset her,
Riding his horse he shall smite both Poeni and
Galli rebellious."²

And, indeed, it is well known that he conquered many tribes in Gaul.³ He himself always believed, moreover, that the prediction "he shall smite the Poeni" referred to him and Severus, because Severus was

CLODIUS ALBINUS

6 fuit et aliud signum futuri imperii. nam cum Caesar-
eana familia hoc speciale habuerit, ut parvuli domus
eius in testudineis alveis¹ lavarentur, nato infantulo
testudo ingens patri eius munere piscatoris adlata
7 est; quod ille homo litteratus omen accipiens et
testudinem libenter accepit et eam curari iussit atque
infantulo ad excaldationes pueriles dicari, nobilitan-
8 dum etiam hinc sperans. cum rarum esset, aquilas
in his locis videri, in quibus natus est Albinus, septima
eius die² hora convivii, quod celebritati pueri deputa-
batur, cum ei³ fierent nomina, septem aquilae parvulae
de nidis adlatae sunt et quasi ad iocum circa cunas
pueri constitutae. nec⁴ hoc omen pater abnuit et⁵ iussit
9 aquilas ali et diligenter curari. accessit omen, quod,
cum pueri eius familiae russulis fasciis inligarentur,
quod forte lotae atque udae essent russulae fasciolae,
quas mater praegnans paraverat, purpurea matris
inligatus⁶ est fascea; unde illi ioco nutricis etiam
10 Porphyrii nomen inditum est. haec atque alia signa
imperii futuri fuere. quae qui volet nosse, Aelium
Cordum legat, qui frivola super huius modi ominibus
cuncta persequitur.

¹ *testudine alveis* P. ² *diei* P. ³ *eis* P. ⁴ *ne* P;
Peter. ⁵ *et* ins. by Frankfurter. ⁶ *inlitus* P¹.

¹ See Intro., p. xviii.

CLODIUS ALBINUS V. 6-10

a native of Africa. There was another indication of his future rule besides these. A peculiar custom was observed in the family of the Caesars, namely, that the infants of this house should be bathed in tubs of tortoise-shell. Now when Albinus was a newly born infant, a fisherman brought as a gift to his father a tortoise of enormous size, and he, being well versed in letters, regarded the gift as an omen and accepted the tortoise gladly. He then gave an order that they should prepare the shell and set it apart for the child for use in the hot baths that are given to infants, hoping that this gift portended noble rank for his son. And again, although eagles appear but rarely in the region in which Albinus was born, on the seventh day after his birth, at the very hour of a banquet in honour of the bestowal of his name, seven young eagles were brought in from a nest and placed as though in jest about the cradle of the child. Nor did his father scorn this omen either, but commanded that the eagles be fed and guarded with care. Still another omen occurred. It was customary in his family that the bandages in which the children are wrapped should be of a reddish colour. In his case, however, it chanced that the bandages which had been prepared by his mother during her pregnancy had been washed and were not yet dry, and he was therefore wrapped in a bandage of his mother's, and this, as it happened, was of a purple hue. For this reason his nurse, jestingly, gave him the name Porphyrius. These were the omens that betokened his future rule. There were others besides these, but he who desires to learn what they are may read them in Aelius Cordus,¹ for he relates all trivial details concerning omens of this sort.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

VI. Adulescens igitur statim se ad militiam contulit atque Antoninis per Lollium Serenum et Baebium Maecianum et Ceionium Postumianum suos adfines
 2 innotuit. egit tribunus equites Dalmatas; egit et legionem ¹ quartanorum et primanorum; Bithynicos exercitus eo tempore quo ² Avidius rebellabat fideliter
 3 tenuit. dein per Commodum ad Galliam translatus, in qua fusis gentibus ³ Transrhenanis celebre nomen
 4 suum et apud Romanos et apud barbaros fecit. quibus rebus accensus Commodus Caesareanum ei nomen obtulit et dandi stipendii facultatem et pallii coccini
 5 utendi. quibus omnibus ille prudenter abstinuit, dicens Commodum quaerere qui aut cum eo perirent
 6 aut quos cum causa ipse posset occidere. quaesturae gratia illi facta est. qua concessa aedilis non amplius quam decem diebus fuit, quod ad exercitum festino
 7 mitteretur. dein praeturam egit sub Commodio famosissimam. nam eiusdem ludis Commodus et in foro et in
 8 theatro pugnas exhibuisse perhibetur. consul a Severo declaratus ⁴ est eo tempore quo illum sibi paraverat cum ⁵ Pescennio subrogare.

VII. Ad imperium venit natu ⁶ iam grandior et maior Pescennio Nigro, ut Severus ipse in vita sua loquitur.

¹ legione P. ² quod P. ³ gentibus Peter; fugentibus P.
⁴ declaratur P. ⁵ cum Pescennio Jordan; Pescennio P;
 <et> Pescennium Peter¹; [Pescennio] Peter². ⁶ natura P.

¹ The Legio I. Italica in Moesia Inferior and the Legio IV. Flavia in Moesia Superior.

² Probably as governor of Germania Inferior.

³ See Sev., vi. 9 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS VI. 2—VII.

VI. As soon as he came of age he entered military service, and by the aid of Lollius Serenus, Baebius Maecianus and Ceionius Postumianus, all his kinsmen, he gained the notice of the Antonines. In the capacity of a tribune he commanded a troop of Dalmatian horse; he also commanded soldiers of the First and the Fourth legions.¹ At the time of Avidius' revolt he loyally held the Bithynian army¹⁵⁷ to its allegiance. Next, Commodus transferred him to Gaul;² and here he routed the tribes from over the Rhine and made his name illustrious among both Romans and barbarians. This aroused Commodus' interest, and he offered Albinus the name of Caesar³ and the privilege, too, of giving the soldiers a present and wearing the scarlet cloak.⁴ But all these offers Albinus wisely refused, for Commodus, he said, was only looking for a man who would perish with him,⁵ or whom he could reasonably put to death. The duty of holding the quaestorship was in his case remitted. This requirement waived, he became aedile, but after a term of only ten days he was despatched in haste to the army.⁶ Next, he served his praetorship under Commodus, and a very famous one it was. For at his games Commodus, it is said, gave gladiatorial combats in both the Forum and the¹⁹⁴ theatre. And finally Severus made him consul at the time when he purposed to make him and Pescennius his successors.

VII. When he at last attained to the empire he was well advanced in years, for he was older, as Severus himself relates in his autobiography,⁷ than Pescennius Niger. But Severus, after his victory

¹ See note to c. ii. 5.

⁶ See § 2.

⁵ Cf. c. iii. 1.

⁷ See note to *Sev.*, iii. 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

2 sed victo Pescennio, cum et filiis suis imperium servare
cuperet et ingentem senatus amorem circa Clodium
Albinum videret, quod esset vir antiquae familiae,
litteras ad eum per quosdam summi amoris ac summae
adfectionis misit, quibus hortabatur, ut, quoniam
occisus esset Pescennius Niger, ipse cum eo fideliter
3 rem publicam regeret. quarum exemplum hoc esse
Cordus ostendit: "Imperator Severus Augustus
Clodio Albino Caesari, fratri amantissimo et desider-
4 antissimo, salutem. victo Pescennio litteras Romanas
dedimus, quas senatus tui amantissimus libenter
accepit. te quaeso, ut eo animo rem publicam regas
quo delectus es frater animi mei, frater imperii.
5 Bassianus et Geta te salutant. Iulia nostra et te et
sororem salutat. infantulo tuo Pescennio Princeps
6 munera digna suo loco tuoque mittemus: tu velim
exercitus rei publicae ac nobis retentes, mi unanime,
mi carissime, mi amantissime."

VIII. Et has quidem litteras missis stipatoribus fidelissimis dedit, quibus praecepit, ut epistulam publice darent, postea vero dicerent se velle pleraque occulte suggerere, quae ad res bellicas pertinerent et ad secreta castrorum atque aulicam fidem; ubi vero in secretum venissent quasi mandata dicturi, quinque validissimi eum interimerent gladiolis infra vestem
2 latentibus. nec illorum quidem fides defuit.¹ nam cum ad Albinum venissent et epistulam dedissent,

¹ *fidefuit* P¹.

¹ See also Herodian, iii. 5, 2.

² This same story of the attempted assassination and the frustration of the plot is told in Herodian, iii. 5, 3-8.

over Pescennius, desiring to keep the throne for his sons, and observing that Clodius Albinus, inasmuch as he came of an ancient family, was greatly beloved by the senate,¹ sent him certain men with a letter couched in terms of the greatest love and affection, in which he urged that, now that Pescennius Niger was slain, they should loyally rule the state together. The following, so Cordus declares, is a copy of this letter: "The Emperor Severus Augustus to Clodius Albinus Caesar, our most loving and loyal brother, greeting. After defeating Pescennius we despatched a letter to Rome, which the senate, ever devoted to you, received with rejoicing. Now I entreat you that in the same spirit in which you were chosen as the brother of my heart you will rule the empire as my brother on the throne. Bassianus and Geta send you greetings, and our Julia, too, greets both you and your sister. To your little son Pescennius Princes we will send a present, worthy both of his station and your own. I would like you to hold the troops in their allegiance to the empire and to ourselves, my most loyal, most dear, and loving friend."

VIII. This was the letter that he gave to the trusted attendants that were sent to Albinus. He told them to deliver the letter in public; but, later, they were to say that they wished to confer with him privately on many matters pertaining to the war, the secrets of the camp, and the trustworthiness of the court, and when they had come to the secret meeting for the purpose of telling their errand, five sturdy fellows were to slay him with daggers hidden in their garments.² And they showed no lack of fidelity. For they came to Albinus and delivered Severus' letter, and then, when he read it, they said

CLODIUS ALBINUS

- qua lecta cum dicerent quaedam secretius suggerenda et locum semotum ab omnibus arbitris postularent, et cum omnino neminem paterentur ad porticum longissimam cum Albino progredi ea specie ne mandata proderentur, Albinus intellexit¹ insidias.
- ³ denique indulgens suspicionibus eos tormentis dedit, qui diu primo pernegarunt sed postea victi necessitate confessi sunt ea quae Severus iisdem praeceperat.
- ⁴ Tunc iam proditis rebus et apertis insidiis, ea quae suspicabatur Albinus clara esse intellegens exercitu ingenti collecto contra Severum atque eius duces IX. venit. et primo quidem conflictu habito contra duces Severi potior fuit, post autem Severus ipse, cum id egisset apud senatum, ut hostis iudicaretur Albinus, contra eum profectus acerrime fortissimeque pugnavit.
- ² in Gallia non sine varietate fortunae. denique cum sollicitus augures consuleret, responsum illi est, ut dicit Marius Maximus, venturum quidem in potestate eius Albinum, sed non vivum nec mortuum. quod
- ³ et factum est. nam cum ultimo proelio commissum esset, innumeris suorum caesis, plurimis fugatis, multis etiam deditis, Albinus fugit et, ut multi dicunt, se ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussus semivivus
- ⁴ ad Severum deductus est. unde confirmatum est augurium quod fuerat ante praedictum. multi praeterea dicunt, a militibus, qui eius² nece³ a Severo gratiam requirebant.

¹ intellegit P¹.

² qui eius Casaubon; cuius P, Peter.

³ necem P.

¹ It was at this time, in 196, that he was acclaimed Augustus; see c. i. 1.

² See *Sev.*, x. 7—xi. 2.

³ Cf. *Sev.*, xi. 6.

that they had some matters to tell him more privately, and asked for a place far removed from all who could overhear. But when they refused to suffer anyone to go with Albinus to this distant portico, on the ground that their secret mission must not be made known, Albinus scented a plot and eventually yielded to his suspicions and delivered them over to torture. And though at first they stoutly denied their guilt, in the end they yielded to extreme measures and disclosed the commands that Severus had laid upon them.

Thus all was revealed and the plot laid bare, and Albinus, now seeing that what he had merely suspected before was true, assembled a mighty force and advanced to meet Severus and his generals.¹ IX. In the first engagement, indeed, which was fought with Severus' leaders,² he proved superior. Later Severus himself, after causing the senate to declare Albinus a public enemy, set out against him and fought in Gaul, bitterly and courageously but not without vicissitudes of fortune. At last, being somewhat perturbed, Severus consulted an augur, and received from him the response, according to Marius Maximus, that Albinus would in truth fall into his power, but neither alive nor dead. And so it happened. For after a decisive engagement, where countless of his soldiers fell, and very many fled, and many, too, surrendered, Albinus also fled away and, according to some, stabbed himself, according to others, was stabbed by a slave. At any rate, he was brought to Severus only half alive.³ So the prophecy made before the battle was fulfilled. Many, however, declare that he was slain by soldiers who asked Severus for a bounty for his death.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

5 Fuit Albino unus, ut aliqui dicunt, filius, ut¹
 Maximus dicit, duo. quibus primum veniam dedit,
 postea vero eos cum matre percussit et in profluentem
 6 abici iussit. caput eius excisum pilo circumtulit
 Romamque misit, litteris ad senatum datis quibus
 insultavit, quod Albinum tantopere dilexissent ut
 eius adfines et fratrem praecipue ingenti honore
 7 cumularent. iacuisse ante praetorium Severi Albini
 corpus per dies plurimos dicitur usque ad fetorem,
 laniatumque a canibus in profluentem abiectum est.

X. De moribus eius varia dicuntur. et Severus qui-
 dem ipse haec de eodem loquitur, ut eum dicat turpem
 malitiosum improbum inhonestum cupidum luxuri-
 2 osum. sed haec belli tempore vel post bellum,
 3 quando ei iam velut de hoste credi non poterat, cum
 et ipse ad eum quasi ad amicissimum frequentes
 miserit litteras,² et multi de Albino bene senserint,³
 et Severus ipse Caesarem suum eundem appellari
 voluerit et, cum de successore cogitaret, hunc pri-
 mum habuerit ante oculos.

4 Exstant praeterea Marci epistolae de hoc eodem,
 quae testimonium et virtutum eius ferant et morum.
 5 quarum unam inserere ad praefectos datam super eius
 nomine absurdum non fuit:

6 "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus praefectis⁴ suis salu-
 tem. Albino ex familia Ceioniorum, Afro quidem

¹ ut ins. by Peter; om. in P.
 serunt P corr. ⁴ praefectus P¹.

² miset lit P¹.

³ sen-

¹ The Rhone; see *Sev.*, xi. 9; cf. also § 7.

² See c. xii. 1.

³ See *Sev.*, xi. 3 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS IX. 5—X. 6

According to certain writers, he had one son, but according to Maximus, two. At first Severus granted these pardon, but later he killed them, together with their mother, and had them cast into running water.¹ Albinus' head was cut off and paraded on a pike, and finally sent to Rome. With it Severus sent a letter to the senate, in which he reviled it bitterly for its great love for Albinus,² inasmuch as his kinsmen, and notably his brother,³ had been heaped with illustrious honours. Albinus' body lay for days, it is said, before Severus' headquarters, until it stank and was mangled by dogs, and then it was thrown into running water.

X. With regard to his character there is great divergence of statement. Severus, for his part, charged him with being depraved and perfidious, unprincipled and dishonourable, covetous and extravagant.⁴ But all this he wrote either during the war or after it, at a time when he merits less credence, since he was speaking of a foe. Yet Severus himself sent him many letters, as though to an intimate friend. Many persons, moreover, thought well of Albinus, and even Severus wished to give him the name of Caesar,⁵ and when he made plans for a successor, he had Albinus foremost in mind.

There are extant, besides, some letters of Marcus concerning Albinus, which bear witness to his virtues and character. One of these, addressed to his prefects and dealing with Albinus, it were not out of place to include: "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to his prefects, greeting. Albinus, one of the family of the Ceionii,⁶ son-in-law of Plautillus, and a native of

⁴ See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

⁵ Cf. c. i. 2.

⁶ See note to c. iv. 1.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

- homini sed non multa¹ ex Afris habenti, Plautilli
 7 genero, duas cohortes alares regendas dedi. est homo
 exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus. puto eum re-
 bus castrensibus profuturum, certe offuturum non
 8 esse² satis novi. huic salarium duplex decrevi, vestem
 militarem simplicem sed loci sui, stipendium quadru-
 plum. hunc vos adhortamini, ut se rei publicae os-
 tentet,³ habiturus praemium quod merebitur.”
- 9 Est et alia epistula, qua idem Marcus Avidii Cassi
 temporibus de hoc eodem scripsit, cuius exemplum
 10 hoc est: “Laudanda est Albini constantia, qui gra-
 viter deficientes exercitus tenuit, cum ad Avidium
 Cassium confugerent. et nisi hic fuisset, omnes
 11 fecissent. habemus igitur virum dignum consulatu
 quem sufficiam in locum Cassii Papirii, qui mihi exani-
 12 mis prope iam nuntiatus est. quod interim a te
 publicari nolo, ne aut ad ipsum Papirium aut ad eius
 adfectus perveniat, nosque videamur in locum viventis
 XI. consulis⁴ subrogasse.” et istae igitur epistulae con-
 stantem⁵ virum Albinum fuisse⁶ indicant, et illud
 praecipue, quod ad eas civitates instaurandas quas
 Niger adtriverat pecuniam misit, quo facilius sibi
 earum accolas conciliaret.
- 2 Gulosum eum Cordus, qui talia persequitur in suis
 voluminibus, fuisse dicit, et ita quidem ut pomorum
 tantum hauserit⁷ quantum ratio⁸ humana non patitur.

¹ multa Jordan; multo P. ² esse non P. ³ ostendet
 Pl. ⁴ consulis P; consulem Jordan, Peter. ⁵ constantem
 Peter; constat eum P. ⁶ fuissent P. ⁷ auxerit P.
⁸ oratio Pl.

¹ See c. vi. 2.

² Cf. c. vi. 2.

Africa, but with little of the African about him, I have placed in command of two squadrons of horse.¹ He is a man of experience, strict in his mode of life, respected for his character. He will prove of value, I think, in the service of the camp, and I am certain he will prove no detriment. I have ordered him double ration-money, a plain uniform but one befitting his station, and fourfold pay. Do you urge him to make himself known to the state, for he will get the reward that he merits."

There is also another letter, which Marcus wrote about Albinus in the time of Avidius Cassius, a copy¹⁷⁵ of which reads as follows: "Albinus is to be commended for his loyalty. For he held the soldiers in check when they were wavering in their allegiance and were making ready to join Avidius Cassius,² and had it not been for him, they would have done this. We have in him, therefore, a man who deserves the consulship, and I shall name him to succeed Cassius Papirius, who, I am told, is now at the point of death. But this, meanwhile, I would not have you publish, lest somehow it come to Papirius or to his kin, and we seem to appoint a successor to a consul who is still alive." XI. These letters, then, prove the loyalty of Albinus,³ as does this fact besides, that he sent a sum of money wherewith to restore the cities that Siger had ravaged. He did this, also, to win their inhabitants more easily to his cause.

Now Cordus, who recounts such details at length in his books, declares that Albinus was a glutton—so much so, in fact, that he would devour more fruit than the mind of man can believe. For Cordus says that

¹ Dio speaks of him as a brave soldier and a skilful general; see lxxv. 6, 2.

CLÓDIUS ALBINUS

3 nam et quingentas ficus passarias, quas Graeci calli-
struthias vocant, ieiunum comedisse dicit et centum
persica Campana et melones Ostienses decem et
uvarum Labicanarum pondo viginti et ficedulas cen-
4 tum et ostrea quadringenta. vini sane parcum fuisse
dicit; quod Severus negat, qui eum adserit ebrium
5 etiam in bello fuisse. cum suis ei¹ numquam
convenit vel propter vinolentiam, ut dicit Severus, vel
6 propter morum acrimoniam. uxori odiosissimus fuit,
servis iniustus, atrox circa militem. nam saepe etiam
ordinarios centuriones, ubi causae qualitas non postu-
labat,² in crucem sustulit. verberavit certe virgis sae-
7 pissime neque umquam delictis pepercit. in vestitu
nitidissimus fuit, in convivio sordidissimus et soli
studens copiae, mulierarius inter primos amatores,
aversae Veneris semper ignarus et talium persecutor,
agri colendi peritissimus, ita ut etiam Georgica scrip-
8 serit. Milesias nonnulli eiusdem esse dicunt, quarum
fama non ignobilis habetur, quamvis mediocriter
scriptae sint.

XII. A senatu tantum amatus est quantum nemo
principum, in odium speciatim Severi, quem vehemen-

¹ *ei* Mommsen; *et* P.

² *postulabit* P.

¹ See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

² The term *centuriones ordinarii* was applied to centurions actually in command of centuries, as opposed to those detailed for service on the staff of a governor, those in the praetorian guard, and those in command of independent bodies of troops.

³ Probably in verse, in imitation of Vergil.

⁴ A name applied to collections of stories of an erotic character. It was taken from the earliest of these collections.

CLODIUS ALBINUS. XI. 3—XII.

when hungry he devoured five hundred dried figs (called by the Greeks *callistruthiae*), one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Ostian melons, twenty pounds' weight of Labican grapes, one hundred figpeckers, and four hundred oysters. In his use of wine, however, Cordus says he was sparing, but Severus denies this,¹ claiming that even in time of war he was drunken. As a rule, he was on bad terms with his household, either because of his drunkenness, as Severus says, or because of his quarrelsome disposition. Toward his wife he was unbearable, toward his servants unjust, and in dealings with his soldiers brutal. For he would often crucify legionary centurions,² even when the character of the offence did not demand it, and he certainly used to beat them with rods and never spared. His clothing was elegant, but his banquets tasteless, for he had an eye only to quantity. As a lover of women he was noted even among the foremost philanderers, but of unnatural lusts he was innocent, and he always punished these vices. In the cultivation of land he was thoroughly versed, and he even composed Georgics.³ Some say, too, that he wrote Milesian tales,⁴ which are not unknown to fame though written in but a mediocre style.

XII. He was beloved by the senators⁵ as no one of the emperors before him. This was chiefly due, however, to their hatred of Severus, who was greatly

called *Μιλησιακά*, written by Aristeides about the end of the second century before Christ and translated into Latin by Cornelius Sisenna. Several stories of this type are included in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

¹ Cf. c. ix. 6; xiii. 3; Herodian, iii. 5, 2. According to Dio, most of the senators refrained from any active partisanship; see lxxv. 4, 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

2 ter ob crudelitatem oderant senatores. denique victo
 eo plurimi senatores a Severo interfecti sunt, qui eius
 3 partium vel vere fuerant vel esse videbantur. denique
 cum apud Lugdunum eundem interfecisset, statim
 litteras requiri iussit, ut inveniret vel ad quos ipse
 scripsisset, vel qui ad eum rescripsissent, omnesque
 illos quorum epistulas repperit hostes iudicari a senatu
 4 fecit; nec his pepercit, sed et ipsos interemit et bona
 eorum proposuit atque in aerarium publicum rettulit.
 5 Exstat epistula Severi, quae ostendit animum suum,
 6 missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Nihil
 mihi gravius potest evenire, patres conscripti, quam
 ut vestrum iudicium Albinus haberet potius quam
 7 Severus. ego frumenta rei publicae detuli, ego
 multa bella pro re publica gessi, ego populo Romano
 tantum olei detuli quantum rerum natura vix habuit.
 ego interfecto Pescennio Nigro vos a malis¹
 8 tyrannicis liberavi. magnam sane mihi reddidistis
 vicem, magnam gratiam; unum ex Afris et quidem
 Hadrumetinis, fingentem quod de Ceioniorum stem-
 mate sanguinem duceret, usque adeo extulistis, ut
 eum principem habere velletis me principe, salvis
 9 liberis meis. defuitne quaeso tanto senatu quem
 amare deberetis, qui vos amaret? huius fratrem
 honoribus extulistis, ab hoc consulatus, ab hoc praec-
 turas, ab hoc speratis² cuiusvis magistratus insignia.

¹ *milis* P¹

² *speratis* P, Peter¹; *sperastis* Peter².

¹ See *Sev.*, xiii.

² See c. ix. 3 and *Sev.*, xi. 1 and 6.

³ Herodian also says that Severus used Albinus' papers as evidence against senators; see iii. 8, 6.

⁴ Cf. *Sev.*, viii. 5.

⁵ Cf. *Sev.*, xviii. 3.

⁶ See note to c. iv. 1.

⁷ Cf. c. ix. 6.

CLODIUS ALBINUS XII. 2-9

detested by the senate because of his cruelty. For after he defeated Albinus, Severus put a great number of senators to death, both those who were really of Albinus' party and those who were thought to be.¹ Indeed, when Albinus was slain near Lugdunum,² Severus gave orders to search through his letters to find out to whom he had written and who had written to him ;³ and everyone whose letters he found, by his orders the senate denounced as a public enemy. And of these he pardoned none, but killed them all, placing their goods on sale and depositing the proceeds in the public treasury.

There is still in existence a letter from Severus, addressed to the senate, which shows very clearly his state of mind ; whereof this is a copy : " Nothing that can happen, O Conscript Fathers, could give me greater sorrow than that you should endorse Albinus in preference to Severus. It was I who gave the city grain,⁴ I who waged many wars for the state, I who gave oil to the people of Rome,⁵ so much that the world could hardly contain it, and I who slew Pescennius Niger and freed you from the ills of a tyrant. A fine requital, truly, you have made me, a fine expression of thanks ! A man from Africa, a native of Hadrumetum, who pretends to derive descent from the blood of the Ceionii,⁶ you have raised to a lofty place ; you have even wished to make him your ruler, though I am your ruler and my children are still alive. Was there no other man in all this senate whom you might love, who might love you ? You raised even his brother to honours ;⁷ and you expect to receive at his hands, one a consulship, another a praetorship, and another the insignia of any office whatever. You have failed, moreover,

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10 non eam gratiam mihi redditis quam maiores vestri
 contra Pisonianam factionem, quam item pro Traiano,
 quam nuper contra Avidium Cassium praestiterunt:
 fictum illum et ad omnia mendaciorum genera parat-
 11 tum, qui nobilitatem quoque mentitus est, mihi prae-
 posuistis. quin etiam audiendus in senatu fuit
 Statilius Corfulenus, qui honores Albino et eius fra-
 tri decernendos ducebat, cui hoc superfuit, ut de me
 12 illi¹ decerneret homo nobilis et triumphum. maior
 fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique
 duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus
 inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria
 13 consenesceret." hinc apparet quanta severitate
 factionem vel Pescennianam vel Clodianam vindi-
 14 caverit. quae quidem omnia in vita eius posita sunt
 quae qui diligentius scire velit, legat Marium Maxi-
 mum de Latinis scriptoribus, de Graecis scriptoribus
 Herodianum, qui ad fidem pleraque dixerunt.

XIII. Fuit statura procerus, capillo renodi et crispae
 fronte lata et² candore mirabili, ita³ ut plerique putarent
 quod ex eo nomen acceperit, voce muliebri et prope
 ad eunuchorum sonum, motu facili, iracundia gravi,
 furore tristissimo, in luxurie varius, nam⁴ saepe ad
 2 petens vini, frequenter abstinens. armorum scientia
 prorsus, ut non male sui temporis Catilina diceretur.

¹ illi Damsté; illo P, Peter. ² et P, Peter¹; om. P, Peter².

³ ita Petschenig, Peter²; et P; om. by Peter¹.

⁴ uarius nam Peter¹; uarii nam P; uarii amans Petschenig, Peter².

¹ See *Pesc. Nig.*, ix. 2 and note.

to show me the spirit of gratitude which your forefathers showed in the face of Piso's plot,¹ which they showed Trajan, and showed but lately in opposing Avidius Cassius. This fellow, false and ready for lies of every kind, who has even fabricated a noble lineage, you have now preferred to me. Why, even in the senate we must hear Statilius Corfulenus proposing to vote honours to Albinus and his brother, and all that was lacking was that the noble fellow should also vote him a triumph over me. It is even a greater source of chagrin, that some of you thought he should be praised for his knowledge of letters, when in fact he is busied with old wives' songs, and grows senile amid the Milesian stories from Carthage that his friend Apuleius wrote and such other learned nonsense." From all this it is clear how severely he attacked the followers of Pescennius and Albinus. Indeed, all these things are set down in his autobiography,² and those who desire to know them in detail should read Marius Maximus among the Latin writers, and Herodian among the Greek, for they have related many things and with an eye to truth.

XIII. He was tall of stature, with unkempt curly hair and a broad expanse of brow. His skin was wonderfully white; many indeed think it was from this that he got his name.³ He had a womanish voice, almost as shrill as a eunuch's. He was easily roused, his anger was terrible, his rage relentless. In his pleasures he was changeable, for he sometimes craved wine and sometimes abstained. He had a thorough knowledge of arms⁴ and was not ineptly called the Catiline of his age.

² See *Sev.*, iii. 2 and note.

³ Cf. c. iv. 4.

⁴ See c. xi. 1 and note.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

3 Non ab re esse credimus causas ostendere quibus
 4 amorem senatus Clodius Albinus meruerit. cum
 Britannicos exercitus regeret iussu Commodi atque
 illum interemptum adhuc falso comperisset, cum sibi
 ab ipso Commodo Caesareanum nomen esset delatum,
 5 processit ad milites et hac contione usus est : " Si
 senatus populi Romani suum illud vetus haberet
 imperium, nec in unius potestate res tanta con-
 sisteret, non ad Vitellios neque ad Neronem neque ad
 Domitianos publica fata venissent. in imperio con-
 sulari nostrae illae gentes Ceioniorum Albinorum
 Postumiorum, de quibus patres vestri, qui et ipsi ab
 6 avis suis audierant, multa didicerunt.¹ et certe
 Africam Romano imperio senatus adiunxit, Galliam
 senatus subegit et ² Hispanias, orientalibus populis
 senatus dedit leges, Parthos temptavit senatus;
 subegisset, nisi tam avarum ³ principem Romano
 7 exercitui fortuna rei publicae tunc dixisset.⁴ Britan-
 nias Caesar subegit, certe senator, nondum tamen
 dictator. hic ipse Commodus quanto melior fuisset, si
 8 timuisset senatum? et usque ad Neronem quidem
 senatus auctoritas valuit, qui sordidum et impurum
 principem damnare non timuit, cum sententiae in

¹ *didicerunt* P, *Peter*¹; *tradiderunt* followed by lacuna
*Peter*². ² *et om.* in P, added by *Peter*¹; *senatus subegit* ins.
 before *Hispanias* by *Peter*². ³ *stauarum* P. ⁴ *dixisse* P.

¹ See c. xii. 1 and note.

² See note to c. iv. 1.

We do not believe it wholly irrelevant to recount the causes which won Clodius Albinus the love of the senate.¹ After Commodus had bestowed upon him the name of Caesar, and while by the Emperor's orders he was in command of the troops in Britain, false tidings were brought that Commodus had been slain. Then he came forth before the soldiers and delivered the following speech: "If the senate of the Roman people but had its ancient power, and if this vast empire were not under the sway of a single man, it would never have come to pass that the destiny of the state should fall into the hands of a Vitellius, a Nero, or a Domitian. Under the rule of consuls there were those mighty families of ours, the Ceionii, the Albini, and the Postumii,² of whom your fathers heard from their grandsires and from whom they learned many things. It was surely the senate, moreover, that added Africa to the dominions of Rome, the senate that conquered Gaul and the Spains, the senate that gave laws to the tribes of the East, and the senate that dared to attack the Parthians—and would have conquered them, too, had not the fortune of Rome just then assigned our army so covetous a leader.³ Britain, to be sure, was conquered by Caesar, but he was still a senator and not yet dictator. Now as for Commodus himself, how much better an emperor would he have been had he stood in awe of the senate! Even as late as the time of Nero, the power of the senate prevailed, and the senators did not fear to deliver speeches against a base and filthy prince and condemn him,⁴

¹ Probably Crassus is meant, who was defeated by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

⁴ See Suetonius, *Nero*, xlix. 2.

CLODIUS ALBINUS

eum dictae sint, qui vitae necisque potestatem atque
⁹ imperium tunc tenebat.¹ quare, commilitones, ego
 Caesareanum nomen, quod mi Commodus detulit, nolo.
 10 di faxint ut ne alii quidem velint. senatus imperet,
 provincias dividat, senatus nos consules faciat. et
 quid² dico senatus? vos ipsi et patres vestri; eritis
 enim ipsi senatores."

XIV. Haec contio vivo adhuc Commodo Romam de-
 lata est. quae Commodum in Albinum exasperavit,
 statimque successorem misit Iunium Severum, unum ex
 2 contubernaliis suis. senatui autem tantum placuit,
 ut miris adclamationibus absentem eum ornaret et
 vivo Commodum et deinceps interempto, ita ut non-
 nulli etiam Pertinaci auctores fuerint, ut eum sibi
 socium adscisceret, et³ apud Iulianum de occidendo⁴
 3 Pertinace ipsius plurimum auctoritas valuerit. ut
 autem hoc verum intellegatur, epistolam Commodi
 ad praefectos praetorii suos datam inserui, qua de
 occidendo Albino⁵ significavit suam mentem:

4 "Aurelius Commodus suis⁶ praefectis salutem.
 audisse vos credo, primum fictum esse quod ego
 meorum consilio interfectus essem, deinde contionem
 Clodii Albini apud milites meos habitam, qua⁷ se
 multum senatui commendat, idque, quantum videmus,
 5 non frustra. nam qui principem unum in re publica

¹ *tenebant* P. ² *quod* P. ³ *et* ins. by Petschenig; om.
 in P, Peter. ⁴ *occidendi* P. ⁵ *iuliano* P. ⁶ *suoi*
 Casaubon, Peter¹; *seuerus* P; [*Seuerus*] Peter². ⁷ *qua*
 Jordan; *quod* P.

even though he still retained both power of life and death and the empire too. Wherefore, my comrades, the name of Caesar, which Commodus now confers on me, I do not wish to accept. May the gods grant that no one else may wish it! Let the senate have rule, let the senate distribute the provinces and appoint us consuls. But why do I say the senate? It is you, I mean, and your fathers; you yourselves shall be the senators."

XIV. This harangue was reported at Rome while Commodus was still alive and roused him greatly against Albinus. He forthwith despatched one of his aides, Junius Severus, to replace him.¹ The senate, however, was so much pleased that it honoured Albinus, though absent, with marvellous acclamations, both while Commodus still lived and, later, after his murder. Some even counselled Pertinax to ally himself with Albinus, and as for Julianus, Albinus' influence had the greatest weight in his plan for murdering Pertinax.² In proof, moreover, that my statements are true, I will quote a letter written by Commodus to the prefects of the guard, in which he makes clear his intention of killing Albinus; "Aurelius Commodus to his prefects, greeting. You have heard, I believe, in the first place, the false statement that I had been slain by a conspiracy of my household; in the second, that Clodius Albinus has delivered an harangue to my soldiers in which he commends himself to the senate at great length—and not for nothing, it seems to me. For whoever asserts that the state ought not

¹ This is entirely fictitious, for all the evidence shows clearly that Albinus was governor of Britain when Commodus was killed.

² See note on c. i. 1.

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negat esse debere quique adserit a senatu oportere totam rem publicam regi, is per senatum sibi petit imperium. cavete igitur diligentissime; iam enim hominem scitis vobis militibus populoque vitandum."

6 Has litteras cum Pertinax invenisset, in Albini odium publicare studuit.¹ quare Albinus occidendi Pertinacis Iuliano auctor fuit.

¹*publicasse tu id P.*

CLODIUS ALBINUS XIV. 6

to be under the sway of one man, and that the senate should rule the empire, he is merely seeking to get the empire himself through the senate. Keep a diligent watch then; for now you know the man whom you and the troops and the people must avoid."

When Pertinax found this letter he desired to make it public in order to stir up hatred against Albinus; and for this reason Albinus advised Julianus to bring about Pertinax's death.

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